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THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

To which is annex'd,

A DISCOURSE UPON THE THEOLOGY and MYTHOLOGY Of the PAGANS.

By the Chevalier RAMSAY.

The FIFTH EDITION much Enlarged.

LONDON:

Printed by *James Bettenham:*
And sold by A. BETTESWORTH and C. HITCH at the *Red-Lion* in *Pater-noster Row.*
MDCCXXXVI.

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MDCCXXXVI.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

Lord LANSDOWN.

MY LORD,

THE moſt amiable virtues and the brighteſt talents form'd the character of that HERO whoſe travels I relate: And to whom cou'd I offer a picture of ſo fine a genius and ſo generous a mind but to a perſon of YOUR LORDSHIP's taſte?

The ſingular friendſhip with which YOUR LORDSHIP honours

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me gave rise to this undertaking; and my obligations are of such a nature, that to let pass the present opportunity of acknowledging them, wou'd be the highest injustice, as well as ingratitude. Accept this mark of the inviolable attachment and profound respect of,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

Most obedient, and

Most humble servant,

Andrew Ramsay.

PREFACE.

EVER since the first edition of THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS, *the Author has listen'd with respect and deference to the judgment of the Public; and as several specious objections have been made to the work, and many real faults discover'd in it, his design in this Preface is to give the best answer he can to the one, and to acquaint the reader with what he has done to correct the other.*

The most general defect in the former editions is the inaction of Cyrus, who thro' the whole course of his travels has too much of the indolent Philosopher, and too little of the Hero, who was one day to be the conqueror of Asia. The nature of this work not requiring the action of an epic poem, this fault might have been excus'd; the Author has nevertheless submitted to the judgment of the Public, and has made Cyrus act in the several countries thro' which he passes; and this without departing from the character of a young hero upon his travels, or shocking the reader with tales

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and fictions that have no foundation in antiquity. Besides this general defect there are others peculiar to each book.

In the first, the narration is too hasty and concise: The reader feels a tender concern for Cassandana, loves her and fears to lose her; nevertheless she disappears on a sudden, and this episode concludes too abruptly. It has been likewise observ'd, that there is no relation between the virtuous love of Cyrus for Cassandana, and the criminal passion of Stryangeus for Zarina. Nor is this all, Cambyses and Mandana consent to their son's marriage contrary to all the rules of good policy. The Author hopes he has corrected these faults, by the additions made to the first book, where he gives a view of the political state of Asia in Cyrus's time.

In the second book the Author had not assigned a proper motive for Cyrus's journey to see Zoroaster; the occasion of it at present is this. The Prince of Persia begins to entertain a contempt for Religion, and in order to guard him against this danger, Hystaspes, his governor, engages him to make a visit to the Magi: The representation which Zoroaster makes of the wonders of nature, and the amiable ideas he gives him of the Divinity, satisfy his doubts, and settle his mind; and while he is thus instructed

instructed by philosophical reasonings, which could not be suppos'd very agreeable to a young Princess accustom'd to the gayeties and diversions of the court of Ecbatan, the Author to amuse Cassandana has introduced the wives of the Magi celebrating the festival of the Goddess Mythra; this description relaxes the mind, serves for an introduction to the Theology of the Persians, and makes a proper division of Zoroaster's discourse upon natural philosophy and religion.

The third Book was all narration, there was no action; the episode of Amenophis was thought interessing enough, but Cyrus seem'd to be forgotten, and was remember'd only by reflection. The Author has found means to make this Prince present at the revolutions of Egypt, without becoming a prisoner with Apries, or countenancing the usurpation of Amasis, displaying occasionally his military virtues and heroic sentiments.

In the fourth and fifth books the Spartans and Athenians were put to a great expence of men and ships only to amuse Cyrus. Virgil kills and maims some of the Athletæ in the games in order to give a lustre to his heroes, but the Author had exceeded the liberty taken by the Latin poet. To correct this fault he has related in his fourth book

the war between the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans, mention'd by Herodotus, and which happen'd precisely at the time when Cyrus is suppos'd to be at Sparta. This episode has given the Author occasion to unfold, in a more extensive manner, the political state of Sparta, and the different opinions of Polybius and Plutarch concerning the designs of Lycurgus in his laws and institutions of government. In the fifth book a sea fight is suppos'd between Megacles and Pisistratus, when the Persian Prince went into Attica.

In the sixth book Pythagoras shewed clearly that thought could not be a property of matter; but it was necessary some pages should be added to evince that we have no reason to believe that extension and thought are properties of the same substance; and that the system of Spinoza, (who is meant by Anaximander) is a series of loose suppositions without any demonstration.

The Author has made a considerable addition to the seventh book with regard to the religion of the Tyrians and the death of Adonis. He thought he might take advantage of this beautiful part of Mythology to explain the ancient tradition common to almost all nations concerning a middle God, who was to expiate and destroy moral evil

by

by his own great sufferings. As the Phœnicians liv'd near Judea, they might possibly have clearer ideas of religion than other nations, and this bare possibility may perhaps justify that new episode. However it would be unreasonable to expect that what is put in the mouth of each Philosopher relating to the religion of his own country should be found word for word in the ancients. The Author of Cyrus has only wrought into a connected system the most beautiful hints of antiquity, in order to unfold the great principles of religion, and shew that all nations had from the beginning some idea of those principles more or less confus'd.

In the last book, several important reflections are added, to give more accuracy to the reasonings of Eleazar, and more strength to the discourse of Daniel: The latter proves the supernatural establishment of religion by the only proper method for it, that is to say, by a relation of facts; but his discourse at present contains several corroborative hints, to shew that these facts are inconteſtable. And lastly, he refers Cyrus to the accomplishment of the prophecies in his own person, as an invincible proof of all the truths he has told him.

The Author has made several additions to his discourse on the ancient Mythology,

in order to ſhew, that as all the fictions of the Pagans ſuppoſe the reality of the three ſtates of the world, ſo all the Pagan Divinities may be reduced to one ſupreme God, the principle of all beings, a Goddeſs his wife, ſiſter or daughter, and a middle God who is his ſon, his repreſentative or vicegerent. Beſides theſe additions, which are the moſt important, there are many others leſs conſiderable, which the Author thought neceſſary, to render the tranſitions more eaſy and natural, the narration more connected, the principles more palpable, and the reaſonings more concluſive. This is what the Author has done, to correct the real faults in the former editions of his work. The objections, to which he thinks he can give a ſolid anſwer, without changing any thing in his plan, are as follow.

I. *To begin with the leaſt important of them, it has been objected, that the Author is a plagiary, and that he has in ſeveral places tranſcrib'd whole pages from the Biſhop of Meaux's univerſal hiſtory, M. de Tourreil's hiſtorical preface, Dr. Cudworth's intellectual ſyſtem, and the life of Hay-Ebn-Yokdan, tranſlated from the Arabic.*

Theſe pretended thefts impos'd at firſt upon thoſe who were not in a conditionto con-

ſult the originals; but upon a ſtrict examination, the injuſtice and ignorance of the Critics appear'd. The third book which treats of ancient Egypt contains ſeveral remarks, of which there is not the leaſt trace in the Biſhop of Meaux's univerſal hiſtory. The Author has indeed in ſome places follow'd the tranſlation made by that Prelate of certain paſſages in Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus and Strabo: But is a man a plagiary becauſe in his citations from the ancients he chuſes rather to follow a good tranſlation than a bad one? So in comparing M. de Tourreil's preface with the fourth and fifth books of this work, the reader will find nothing common to them, except certain paſſages purely hiſtorical. The life of Hay-Ebn-Yokdan, tranſlated from the Arabic into Latin by Dr. Pocock, has no reſemblance with the Author's hiſtory of Hermes the ſecond, unleſs it be the general idea of a ſavage brought up in a deſart; there is not the leaſt likeneſs either in the matter or in the method of the reaſoning. The Arabian Philoſopher begins with very refin'd diſquiſitions in anatomy, paſſes thence to metaphyſical diſcuſſions, and concludes with the dreams of the Mahometan contemplatives. All the Author's reaſonings are, on the contrary, ſo managed, that they don't exceed

the capacity of a common good underſtanding, who has no other inſtructor than nature: He has endeavoured ſo to introduce his ideas as not to tranſgreſs the bounds of probability, to range each truth in its proper place, to mix ſpeculation with ſentiment, and to raiſe the ſoul by eaſy and natural gradations to the knowledge and love of the firſt Being. Laſtly, as to Dr. Cudworth, notwithſtanding his miſtakes and want of method, he had penetrated farther into the myſteries of antiquity than the moſt part of Critics; nevertheleſs this learned man ſays nothing of the three ſtates of the world, which are the foundation of all that the Author of Cyrus advances upon religion. Far from being a plagiary he had not conſulted enough the Doctor's excellent remarks concerning the three forms of the Divinity; he has made more uſe of them in this edition, but has always quoted him or the originals.

II. *It is thought that the epiſodes, in which the Author ſpeaks of love, are related with too much rapidity, ſo that the reader has not time enough to be touch'd, mov'd and tranſported.*

To this it may be anſwer'd, that thoſe ſtories are related by perſons who ought not

to

to launch out into love ſpeeches, tender ſentiments and ſprightly images. The ancients are very ſparing in words when the ſituation and circumſtances ſpeak ſufficiently of themſelves. When Homer is to paint the charms of Helen, he does it by a ſingle ſtroke; ſhe goes into the council of the old men, they fix their eyes upon her, are diſcompos'd and ſuſpend their deliberations. When Virgil makes Dido ſpeak, her words are few, but each word is a ſentiment: The tender paſſions loſe their force and their delicacy when they become too eloquent. Beſides, all the Author's fictions, where love is the object, are in the two firſt books, and tend to preſerve Cyrus from the follies of youth, by ſhewing him, not ſo much the ſweets of love, as the bitter effects of it: As ſoon as he attains to a riper age, Caſſandana dies and the Hero begins his travels. Thus hiſtory ſimply relates facts as they happen, without endeavouring after the intrigues, ſpeeches and ſurpriſing adventures of romance.

III. *Some object that the travels of Cyrus are not well imagin'd, and that any other hero would have ſuited better with the Author's project than the conqueror of Aſia.*

Conquerors

Conquerors have generally no other view in extending their dominion, than to ſatisfy their unbounded ambition: Cyrus on the contrary made uſe of his victories to procure the happineſs of the conquer'd nations. The Author's intention in making choice of ſuch a Prince was to ſhew, that courage, great exploits and military talents may indeed excite our admiration, but do not form the character of a true hero, without the addition of wiſdom, virtue and noble ſentiments. In order to form ſuch a hero, it was thought allowable to make him travel; and the ſilence of Xenophon, who ſays nothing in his Cyropædia of what happen'd to Cyrus from his ſixteenth to his fortieth year, leaves the Author at liberty to imagine this fiction. The relation of the Prince's travels furniſhes an occaſion to deſcribe the religion, manners and politics of the ſeveral countries thro' which he paſſes. Theſe travels cannot ſurely appear unnatural; a prudent Prince like Cambyſes, a father who is ſuppos'd to be inform'd of the oracles concerning the future greatneſs of his ſon, a tributary King who knows the danger of ſending the young Prince a ſecond time to the court of Ecbatan, ought to be ſenſible that Cyrus at twenty five years of age could not better employ his time during the interval of a profound

profound peace, than by travelling into Egypt and Greece. It was neceſſary to prepare a Prince who was to be one day the founder and law-giver of a mighty empire, to accompliſh his high deſtiny by acquiring in each country ſome knowledge worthy of his great genius. Is there any thing ſtrain'd in all this? No other hero could anſwer the Author's intention; had he made any other Prince travel, he would have loſt all the advantages he has drawn from the choice of Cyrus, as the deliverer of the people of God, as cotemporary with the great men with whom he conſults, and as living in an age, the learning, manners and events of which could alone be ſuitable to the deſign of this work.

IV. *Thoſe who make no diſtinction between the plan of Telemachus and that of Cyrus, continually cry out, that there is no unity of action in the latter.*

Nothing is more unreaſonable than to compare two works of ſuch different natures; inſtruction is indeed the aim of both, but they are not form'd upon the ſame originals; the Author of Telemachus writes a continuation of an epic poem; the Author of Cyrus fills up the chaſm in a philoſophical hiſtory; the one has imitated Homer with

with ſucceſs, the other has taken Xenophon for his model. M. de Cambray ſtrews every where the richeſt flowers of poeſy; he paints nature in all her variety, and the objects themſelves become viſible; he deſcribes all the motions of the heart of man, and makes us feel them ſucceſſively; he renders the moſt ſublime truths palpable, and never fatigues the mind with abſtracted ideas; he paſſes from beautiful images to noble ſentiments, and finds a ſhorter way to the heart than by reaſoning; he walks, he flies, he ſighs, he thunders, he mourns, he rejoices, he aſſumes all forms by turns, and never fails to transform us with him.

The Author's utmoſt ambition was to unfold the principles of his maſter, without daring to attempt an imitation of his graces; he choſe a ſubject more proportion'd to his capacity, a work in which he was to compare the philoſophical ideas of others rather than exert a poetic invention; he did not pretend to write an epic poem: In this kind of fiction the hero ſhould never diſappear; it is he whom we liſten to, it is he only whom we love; the Poet grows tireſome when he perſonates too much the Philoſopher: He is to inſtruct only by hints, and not by long and elaborate diſcuſſions. The obſervation of theſe rules was incompatible

patible with the Author's views; his design was to shew the gradual progress of the mind in the search of truth, to compare the religions, governments and laws of different nations, and to form the legislator rather than the conqueror; unity of action is by no means necessary in a work of this nature, 'tis sufficient if there be unity of design. All the Author's episodes tend to instruction, and the instructions are, as he apprehends, proportion'd to the age of Cyrus: In his youth he is in danger of being corrupted by vanity, love and irreligion; Mandana, Hystaspes and Zoroaster preserve him from these snares. The history of Apries lays open to him all the artifices of a perfidious courtier; that of the Kings of Sparta, the dangers of an excessive confidence in favourites, or of an unjust diffidence of ministers; that of Periander, the fatal mischiefs which attend despotic power and the dispensing with ancient laws; that of Pisistratus, the punishment of a base, false and crafty policy; and that of Nabuchodonosor, the dreadful consequences of relapsing into impiety, after due light and admonition. The Prince is at first instructed by fables to preserve him from the passions of youth; he afterwards instructs himself by his own reflections, by the examples he

sees,

ſees, and by all the adventures he meets with in his travels; he goes from country to country, collecting all the treaſures of wiſdom, converſing with the great men he finds there, and performing heroic exploits as occaſion preſents.

V. *Some perſons, to diſcredit the Author's work, have inſinuated that far from doing homage to religion he degrades it.*

He ſhould think himſelf very unhappy to have produced a work ſo contrary to his intentions. All that he advances upon religion may be reduced to two principal points: The firſt is to prove againſt the Atheiſts the exiſtence of a ſupreme Deity, who produced the world by his power, and governs it by his wiſdom. To this end Zoroaſter unveils to us all the wonders of nature, Hermes conſults the native and genuine tendency of the heart, and Pythagoras aſcends to firſt principles: And thus the Author endeavours to unite the ſtrength of all, that ſenſe, natural ſentiment and reaſon can afford us for the proof of the firſt and moſt important of all truths. Tradition ſtrikes in with philoſophy: The Author has endeavour'd to ſhew that the earlieſt opinions of the moſt knowing and civiliz'd nations come nearer the truth than

thoſe

thoſe of latter ages; that the Theology of the Orientals is more pure than that of the Egyptians, that of the Egyptians leſs corrupted than that of the Greeks, and that of the Greeks more exalted than that of the Romans; that the primitive ſyſtem of the world was that of one ſupreme Deity; that in order to adapt this idea to the capacity of the vulgar, the divine attributes were repreſented by allegories and hieroglyphics; that mankind ſinking into matter quickly forgot the meaning of thoſe ſacred ſymbols, aud fell into idolatry; that idolatry brought forth irreligion; that raſh and inconſiderate minds not being able to diſtinguiſh between principles and the abuſes of them ran from one exceſs to another. Such have been the variations of the human mind, with regard to the Deity in almoſt all times and all countries. The Author's intention throughout his whole ſyſtem was to ſhew the wild extravagance of thoſe who maintain that the doctrines of religion are only the effects of the ignorance and ſtupidity of the infant world; that the firſt men not knowing the phyſical cauſes, had recourſe to inviſible powers to explain the phænomena of nature; and laſtly, that politicians refin'd and improv'd theſe indigeſted ideas, in order to compoſe a

ſyſtem

ſyſtem of religion uſeful and neceſſary to ſociety.

The ſecond point is to ſhew, in oppoſition to the Deiſts, that the principal doctrines of reveal'd religion, concerning the ſtates of innocence, corruption and renovation, are as ancient as the world; that they were the foundations of Noah's religion; that he tranſmitted them to his children; that theſe traditions were thus ſpread throughout all nations; that the Pagans disfigured, degraded, and obſcur'd them by their abſurd fictions; and laſtly, that theſe primitive truths have been no where preſerv'd in their purity except in the true religion. When we ſee divers nations agree concerning the beginning, the decline and the re-eſtabliſhment of a monarchy, the birth, exploits and virtues of the hero who is the reſtorer of it, is not this a ſufficient proof of theſe principal facts, tho' the circumſtances ſhould be related differently and be even fabulous? The Author in unfolding the ancient traditions has diſtinguiſhed between fable and truth, philoſophical hypotheſes and doctrines of faith, eſſence and form, the ſpirit and the letter which ought never to be ſeparated, but which cannot be confounded without diſguiſing and diſhonouring Chriſtianity:

ſtianity: He hoped thereby to have given a plan of religion equally amiable and reaſonable, and to have ſhewn that its principles are beautiful, its conſequences natural, and its original ancient; that it enlightens the mind, comforts the heart and eſtabliſhes the welfare of ſociety.

VI. *Thoſe who degrade the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God, under pretence of extolling his Power and Juſtice, have thought that Eleazar's diſcourſe too plainly favour'd the opinions of Origen concerning the pre-exiſtence of ſouls and the reſtitution of all ſpirits. One may venture to ſay, that whoever makes this objection does not underſtand the plan of the work; it is as follows: Each Philoſopher ſpeaks to Cyrus the language of his own religion and country. The Orientals, Egyptians, Greeks and Tyrians all agree in the original purity, preſent corruption and future reſtoration of mankind, but they wrap up theſe truths in different fables, each according to the genius of their nation. Eleazar clears their ſyſtem from the pagan fictions, but retains in his own the opinions of his ſect. The errors which prevail at this day reſemble thoſe of former times. The mind of man ſees but a ſmall number of*

of ideas, reviews them continually, and thinks them new only becauſe it expreſſes them differently in different ages. The Magi in Cyrus's time were fallen into a kind of Atheiſm like that of Spinoza; Zoroaſter, Hermes and Pythagoras ador'd one ſole Deity, but they were Deiſts; Eleazar reſembled the Socinians, who are for ſubjecting religion to philoſophy; Daniel repreſents a perfect Chriſtian, and the hero of this book a young Prince who began to be corrupted by the maxims of irreligion: In order to ſet him right, the different Philoſophers with whom he converſes ſucceſſively unfold to him new truths mixt with errors. Zoroaſter confutes the miſtakes of the Magi; Pythagoras thoſe of Zoroaſter; Eleazar thoſe of Pythagoras; Daniel rejects thoſe of all the others, and his doctrine is the only one which the Author adopts. The order of theſe converſations ſhews the progreſs of the mind, the matter being ſo diſpos'd, that the Atheiſt becomes Deiſt, the Deiſt Socinian, and the Socinian Chriſtian, by a plain and natural chain of ideas. The great art in inſtructing is to lead the mind gradually on, and to take advantage even of its errors to make it reliſh truth. That Cyrus might thus be conducted ſtep by ſtep, it was

was neceſſary to introduce a perſon of the religion of the Hebrews, who ſhou'd confute by reaſon all the objections drawn from reaſon. Daniel could not act this part: It would not have become him to ſolve difficulties by uncertain conjectures; the Philoſopher might prepare the Prince by bare hypotheſes, to ſubmit and to diſtruſt his underſtanding: But it was neceſſary that the Prophet ſhould diſengage Cyrus from all bold Speculations, how refin'd and bright ſoever they might appear, and lead him to the belief of a ſupernatural religion, not by a philoſophical demonſtration of its doctrines, but by proving them to be divinely reveal'd. In a word, he ſhould fix the mind of the young hero by indiſputable facts, which ſtrike much more forcibly than abſtract ideas. And it is for this reaſon that the Author introduces in his laſt book two perſons of very different characters, a Philoſopher and a Prophet; the one employs the powers of reaſon againſt incredulity, the other impoſes ſilence on all reaſonings by a ſupernatural authority. This is the only uſe which the Author would make of the opinions of Origen; they anſwer the objections of the incredulous concerning the beginning and duration of evil; they ſhew, that ſince the weak

weak reaſon of the Philoſophers can find a plauſible ſolution of thoſe great difficulties, we may well conclude that the infinite Wiſdom will be able one day to juſtify his ways, which are now impenetrable. So long as it is allowable to philoſophiſe, the Author expoſes the moſt probable ſyſtems and hypotheſes; but when the queſtion is of faith, he reaſons only upon palpable facts, in order to diſcover whether God has ſpoken to his creature or not: The moment we were convinced of this, all doubtful opinions are loſt and abſorb'd in the depths of the divine incomprehenſibility.

VII. *Thoſe who thought the ſketches of natural philoſophy in this work miſplaced, pretending that the ancients are repreſented more knowing than they really were, will be much more ſhock'd to ſee thoſe philoſophical deſcriptions augmented in the preſent edition. It is not ſurpriſing to hear this objection made by empty, ſuperficial minds, who laugh at the Moſaic hiſtory, while they adopt the Greek fables concerning the origin of mankind; but it is aſtoniſhing to hear the ſame cavils from thoſe who reverence revealed religion, who do not believe that man was created orginally wild*

wild and savage, that he wandered in the woods and deserts without knowledge, religion or law, and who have philosophy enough to discern that the world could not come out of the hands of a wise, good and powerful Creator in its present ignorance, disorder and corruption. These persons might easily be persuaded that the first men had knowledges of God and nature, which are lost in these latter ages; that the sacred writers did not talk at random when they extoll'd the profound learning of the Orientals and Egyptians, even in the time of Moses; and lastly, that [a] *Josephus was not a visionary when he said that the Pagans of his time had an ancient tradition, that Abraham who was famous in Asia communicated many sublime discoveries in natural philosophy to the Chaldeans and Egyptians. The Author however has no need of these pretexts to justify the philosophical descriptions in this work. His aim being to set before the eyes of a young Prince those elements of science which might help to form his understanding and his heart, he thought those physical pictures more pro-*

[a] See Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 8. Beras ibid. & Voss. de Phil. sect. cap. 1. p. 3.

per than poetical paintings to give his pupil a general idea of nature, inſpire him with a taſte of philoſophy, and awaken his deſire of knowledge. In purſuing this deſign he has taken the liberty to depart from ſtrict truth, content himſelf with probability, and make anachroniſms in natural as well as civil hiſtory.

VIII. *Some pretend that the Author has but lightly touched a great many ſubjects, without going to the bottom of any one; that his book is rather a ſummary than a work; that he ſteps too quick from one ſubject to another; and that his ſtile is every where too laconic, ſometimes too metaphyſical and abſtruſe, and often too void of ornament.*

To this it may be anſwered, that profound reaſoning does not conſiſt in a multiplicity of words: It is perhaps eaſier to write a great volume than a little one; the labour is not the leſs real becauſe it is conceal'd. It was intended that each intelligent reader ſhould have the pleaſure of drawing the conſequences from the principles, unfolding thoſe firſt ſeeds of truth, cultivating them and gathering thence a harveſt of knowledge, of which the Au-

thor

thor himself had perhaps no idea. We have a sufficient number of books which convey instruction by diffuse reasonings, ingenious aphorisms and florid illustrations. The Author's design was to habituate the mind of a young Prince to judge by principles, discover the connection of essential truths and unite them under one view. He says to him upon each subject what is necessary to shew, that all nations had originally the same fundamental principles; that the duties of religion, morality and good policy flow from the same source, conspire to the same end, and mutually support and fortify each other; and in a word, that all the civil and human virtues, the laws of nature and nations are, so to speak, but consequences of THE LOVE OF ORDER, *which is the eternal and universal law of all intelligences. In a work of this nature, it is necessary to unbend the mind of the reader, without carrying it off from its principal object; all the flowers should be thoughts, the graces noble and tender sentiments, the paintings characters, and the descriptions such pictures as may make us acquainted with nature, and admire the Creator. The Author is sensible that he is far from having executed this vast design, but in the attempt he has made to-*

wards it he was obliged to avoid all foreign embelliſhments, labour'd connections and the ambitious ornaments of the Greek and Latin poeſy.

To ſpeak more clearly: Poeſy has had the ſame fate with philoſophy. The Orientals, the Chaldeans, and above all the Hebrews painted nature without diſguiſing it, and gave life to every thing without deifying it. According to them every thing proceeds from God, and ought to flow back to him again. All the viſible wonders of nature are faint images of his greatneſs, and the innumerable orders of ſpirits emanations from his wiſdom. Mankind are all but one family of that immenſe republic of intelligences of which God is the common Father. Each man is as a ray of light ſeparated from its ſource, ſtray'd into a corner of diſorder'd nature, toſs'd about by the tumultuous wind of paſſion, tranſported from climate to climate by reſtleſs deſires, purified by all the misfortunes it meets with, till it becomes like a ſubtile vapour reaſcending to the ſuperior regions from whence it fell. We have here a fruitful ſource of luminous ideas, beautiful images and ſublime expreſſions, ſuch as we find in the holy ſcripture, and in Milton who has copy'd

copy'd them. The Egyptians corporaliz'd too much theſe ideas by their ſenſible ſymbols; but the Greek Poets, and their imitators the Roman Poets, entirely mangled and degraded them. The Divinity is no longer a ſovereign wiſdom but a blind deſtiny, man is but a maſs of atoms of which nothing remains after death but an empty ſhade, immortality is a dream, the Elyſian-fields a mere ſubterraneous cavern, and the habitation of the Gods a mountain of Greece: By this means a dark veil is drawn over the whole univerſe, the ſource of noble ideas is dry'd up, and reaſon becomes a barren field: The imagination deſtitute of principles ſeeks to ſupply its indigence by creating a new world; it transforms all objects in order to imbelliſh them, it exalts men into Gods, and debaſes Gods into men, it gives body to ſpirits and ſpirit to bodies; its deſcriptions are florid but falſe, and its marvelous *degrades the divine Nature; the agreeable and the gay take the place of the true ſublime, and of that diviner poetry, which firſt leads man into his own heart, and then raiſes him above himſelf. Such is the Greek poeſy, always poor in the midſt of its ſeeming abundance: Had the Author been able to imitate it, 'tis*

what he ought to have avoided, as improper in a book of principles.

It is not pretended by all that has been ſaid, that this work, as now given to the public, is free from faults; there will no doubt always remain a great number; nor would the Author have troubled the reader with theſe reflections but to juſtify his main deſign and explain more fully the plan of his book.

THE

THE

TRAVELS

OF

CYRUS.

FIRST BOOK.

THE Assyrian empire having been for many ages extended over all Asia, was at length dismembred, upon the death of Sardanapalus. [a] Arbaces governor of Media entered into a league with Belesis governor of Babylon, to dethrone that effeminate Monarch: They besieged him in his capital, where the unfortunate Emperor, to avoid being made a prisoner, and to hinder his enemies from becoming masters of his immense riches, set fire to his palace, threw himself into the flames, and perished with all his treasures. Ninus the true heir succeeded him in the throne, and reign'd at Nineveh; but Arbaces took possession of Media, with all its dependencies, and Belesis of Chaldea, with the neighbouring territories. [b] And thus was

[a] *Diod. Sic. lib.* 2. *Athen. lib.* 12. *Herod. lib.* 1. *Just. lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

[b] *This happen'd many years before the foundation of Rome, and the institution of the Olympiads. It was in the time of Ariphron, 9th perpetual Archon of Athens, and almost* 900 *years before the Christian Æra.*

the ancient empire of the Assyrians divided into three monarchies, the capitals of which were Ecbatana, Babylon and Nineveh. It was not long before the last became a prey to the ambitious successors of Belesis; nor did those of Arbaces fail to push their conquests; they brought several of the neighbouring nations under tribute, and particularly Persia: So that the Kings of Media and Babylon became the two great potentates of the East. Such was the state of Asia when Cyrus was born: His father Cambyses was King of Persia, Mandana his mother was daughter of Astyages King of the Medes.

He was educated from his tender years after the manner of ancient Persia, where the youth were inur'd to hardship and fatigue; hunting and war were their only exercises; but confiding too much in their natural courage, they neglected military discipline. The Persians were hitherto rough, but virtuous: They were not vers'd in those arts and sciences which polish the mind and manners; but they were great masters in the sublime science of being content with simple nature, despising death for the love of their country, and flying all pleasures which emasculate the mind, and enervate the body. Being persuaded that sobriety and exercise prevent almost every disease, they habituated themselves to a rigorous abstinence and perpetual labour: [c] The lightest indispositions proceeding from intemperance were thought shameful. The youth were educated in publick schools, where they were early instructed in the knowledge of the laws, and accustom'd to hear causes, pass sentence, and mutually to do one another the most exact justice; and hereby they discovered their dispositions, penetration

[c] *Xen. Cyr. p.* 18. *Ed. Oxon. Turpe enim apud Persas habetur exspuere, nasum emungere, &c.*

and

and capacity for employments in a riper age. The virtues which their masters were principally careful to inspire into them, were the love of truth, humanity, sobriety and obedience: The two former make us resemble the Gods; the two latter are necessary to the preservation of order. The chief aim of the laws in ancient Persia was to prevent the corruption of the heart: And for this reason the Persians punished ingratitude [d]; a vice against which there is no provision made by the laws of other nations: Whoever was capable of forgetting a benefit was looked upon as an enemy to society.

Cyrus had been educated according to these wise maxims; and though it was impossible to conceal from him his rank and birth, yet he was treated with the same severity as if he had not been heir to a throne; he was taught to practise an exact obedience, that he might afterwards know how to command. When he arrived at the age of fourteen, Astyages desir'd to see him: Mandana could not avoid complying with her father's orders, but the thought of carrying her son to the court of Ecbatana exceedingly griev'd her.

For the space of three hundred years the Kings of Media had by their bravery extended their conquests; and conquests had begot luxury, which is always the forerunner of the fall of empires. VALOUR, CONQUEST, LUXURY, ANARCHY, this is the fatal circle, and these are the different periods of the politick life, in almost all states. The court of Ecbatana was then in its splendor; but this splendor had nothing in it of solidity. The days were spent in effeminacy, or in flattery; the love of glory, strict probity, severe honour, were no longer in esteem; the pursuit of solid knowledge was thought to argue a want of taste; agreeable

[d] *Cyrop. Xen. p.* 10.

trifling, fineſpun thoughts, and lively ſallies of imagination, were the only kinds of wit admired there. No ſort of writings pleas'd, but amuſing fictions where there was a perpetual ſucceſſion of events, which ſurpriſed by their variety, without improving the underſtanding, or ennobling the heart. Love was without delicacy; blind pleaſure was its only attractive charm: The women thought themſelves deſpiſed, when no attempts were made to enſnare them. That which contributed to encreaſe this corruption of mind, manners and ſentiments, was the new doctrine ſpread every where by the ancient Magi, that pleaſure is the only moving ſpring of man's heart: For as each man placed his pleaſure in what he liked beſt, this maxim authoriſed virtue or vice according to every one's taſte, humour, or complexion. This depravity, however, was not then ſo univerſal as it became afterwards. Corruption takes its riſe in courts, and extends itſelf gradually thro' all the parts of a ſtate. Military diſcipline was yet in its vigour in Media; and there were in the provinces many brave ſoldiers, who not being infected by the contagious air of Ecbatan, preſerved in themſelves all the virtues which flouriſhed in the reigns of Dejoces and Phraortes.

Mandana was thoroughly ſenſible of all the dangers to which ſhe ſhould expoſe young Cyrus, by carrying him to a court, the manners of which were ſo different from thoſe of the Perſians; but the will of Cambyſes, and the orders of Aſtyages, obliged her, whether ſhe would or not, to undertake the journey. She ſet out attended by a body of the young nobility of Perſia under the command of Hyſtaſpes, to whom the education of Cyrus had been committed: The young Prince was ſeated in a chariot with her, and it was the firſt time that he had ſeen himſelf diſtinguiſh'd from his companions.

Mandana

Mandana was a Princeſs of uncommon virtue, a well cultivated underſtanding and a ſuperior genius. She made it her buſineſs, during the journey, to inſpire Cyrus with the love of virtue, by entertaining him with fables according to the Eaſtern manner. The minds of young perſons are not touched by abſtracted ideas, they have need of agreeable and familiar images; they cannot reaſon, they can only feel the charms of truth; and to make it lovely to them, it muſt be preſented under ſenſible and beautiful forms.

Mandana had obſerved that Cyrus was often too full of himſelf, and that he diſcovered ſome tokens of a riſing vanity, which might one day obſcure his great qualities. She endeavoured to make him ſenſible of the deformity of this vice, by relating to him the fable of Sozares, a Prince of the ancient empire of Aſſyria. It reſembles the ſtory of the Grecian Narciſſus, who periſhed by the fooliſh love of himſelf. For thus it is that the Gods puniſh; they only give us over to our own paſſions, and we immediately commence unhappy. She then painted forth the beauty of thoſe noble virtues which lead to heroiſm, by the generous forgetting of one's ſelf, and related to him the fable of the firſt Hermes. This was a divine youth, who had wit and beauty without knowing it, and was unacquainted with his own virtue, becauſe he knew not that there were any vices: The Gods to reward this happy ignorance endow'd him with ſuch ſublime wiſdom as made him the oracle of all Egypt. It was thus that Mandana inſtructed her ſon during the journey; one fable gave riſe to another. The queſtions of the Prince furniſhed the Queen with new matter to entertain him, and with opportunities of teaching him the hidden meaning of the Egyptian fables, the taſte for which had prevailed very much in the Eaſt, ſince the conqueſts of Seſoſtris.

As they passed one day by a mountain, consecrated to the great Oromazes [e], Mandana stopp'd her chariot, alighted, and drew near to the sacred place. It was the day of a solemn festival, and the high priest was already preparing the victim, crowned with flowers; he was of a sudden seiz'd with the divine Spirit, and interrupting the silence and solemnity of the sacrifice, cryed out in a transport; I see a young laurel rising, it will soon spread its branches over all the East, the nations will come in crowds to assemble together under its shadow [f]. Mandana made deep reflections upon this oracle, and when she was got up again into her chariot, said to her son: The Gods give sometimes these happy presages to animate heroick souls: But the event of such predictions, as far as they are personal, depends upon our virtue: The designs of the great Oromazes never fail of their accomplishment, but he changes the instruments of them, when those whom he had chosen render themselves unworthy of his choice.

As soon as they arrived upon the frontiers of Media, Astyages with all his court came out to meet them. He was a Prince of great beneficence and humanity, but his natural goodness made him often too easy, and his propensity to pleasure had brought the Medes into the taste of luxury and effeminacy. Cyrus, soon after his arrival at the court of Ecbatana, gave proofs of a wit and judgment far beyond his age. Astyages put divers questions to him concerning the manners of the Persians, their laws, and their method of educating youth. He was struck with astonishment at the sprightly and noble

[e] *The great God of the Persians. See the Discourse, p. 7.*
[f] *Isaiah's prophecy may be supposed to have been spread abroad in the East.*

answers

anſwers of his grandſon. Young Cyrus was the admiration of the whole court, inſomuch that he began to be intoxicated with praiſe; a ſecret preſumption ſtole into his heart; he talk'd a little too much, and did not hearken enough to others; he decided with an air of ſufficiency, and ſeemed too fond of wit. Mandana, to remedy this fault, contrived to ſet before him his own picture by certain paſſages of hiſtory; for ſhe proceeded in his education upon the ſame plan on which ſhe had begun it. She related to him the ſtory of Logis and Sygeus.

My ſon, ſaid ſhe, it was formerly the cuſtom at Thebes in Bœotia to raiſe to the throne, after the death of the King, him of all his children who had the beſt underſtanding. When a Prince has fine parts he can chuſe able miniſters, make proper uſe of their talents, and govern thoſe who govern under him; this is the great ſecret of the art of reigning. Among the King's ſons there were two who ſeemed of a ſuperior genius. The elder, named Logis, loved talking; the younger, who was called Sygeus, was a man of few words. The firſt made himſelf admired by the charms of his wit, the ſecond made himſelf loved by the goodneſs of his heart. Logis ſhewed plainly, even while he endeavoured to conceal it, that he ſpoke only to ſhine; Sygeus hearkened readily to others, and looked upon converſation as a ſort of commerce, where each perſon ought to furniſh ſomething of his own. The one made the moſt thorny and perplexed affairs agreeable by the lively and ſhining ſtrokes of wit he intermixed in all he ſaid; the other threw light upon the obſcureſt points, by reducing every thing to ſimple principles. Logis affected myſtery without being ſecret, and his politicks were full of ſtratagems and artifice; Sygeus impenetrable, without being falſe, ſurmounted all obſtacles

obſtacles by his prudence and courage. The one never diſplay'd his talents but to ſerve his ambition; the other frequently concealed his virtues that he might taſte the ſecret pleaſure of doing good for its own ſake.

After the King's death, all the people got together in haſte to chuſe a ſucceſſor to the throne: Twelve old men preſided at the aſſembly to correct the judgment of the multitude, who ſeldom fail to be carried away by prejudice, appearances, or paſſion. The eloquent Prince made a long, but fine harangue, wherein he ſet forth all the duties of a King, in order to inſinuate that one who was ſo well acquainted with them, would undoubtedly fulfil them: Prince Sygeus in few words repreſented to the aſſembly the great hazards in the exerciſe of ſovereign authority, and confeſs'd an unwillingneſs to expoſe himſelf to them. It is not, added he, that I would ſhun any difficulties or dangers to ſerve my country, but I am afraid of being found unequal to the task of governing. The old men decided in favour of Sygeus; but the young people, and thoſe of ſuperficial underſtandings took the part of the elder brother, and raiſed by degrees a rebellion, under pretext that injuſtice had been done to Logis. Troops were levied on both ſides: Sygeus propoſed to yield his right to his brother, in order to hinder the effuſion of the blood of his countrymen, but his army would not conſent to it.

The chief men of both parties, ſeeing the miſeries with which the ſtate was ready to be overwhelmed, propoſed the expedient of letting both the brothers reign, each a year, by turns. This form of government has many inconveniences, but it was preferred before a civil war, the greateſt of all calamities. The two brothers applauded the propoſal for peace, and Logis aſcended the throne. He changed in a little time all the ancient laws of the kingdom;

kingdom; he was always listening to new projects; and to have a lively imagination was sufficient to raise a man to the highest employments: That which seemed excellent in speculation could not be executed without difficulty and confusion; his ministers, who had no experience, knew not that precipitate changes, how useful soever they may appear, are always dangerous. The neighbouring nations took advantage from this weak administration to invade the country; and had it not been for the prudence and bravery of Sygeus all had been lost, and the people must have submitted to a foreign yoke. His brother's year being expired he ascended the throne, gained the confidence and love of his people, re-established the ancient laws, and by his wise conduct, even more than by his victories, drove the enemy out of the country. From that time Sygeus reigned alone, and it was decided in the supreme council of the old men, that the King to be chosen for the future should not be the person who gave proofs of the quickest parts, but of the soundest judgment. They were of opinion, that to talk eloquently, or to be fruitful in expedients and stratagems were not talents so essential to a good governor, as a just discernment in chusing, and a steadiness and courage in pursuing the best and wisest counsels.

Cyrus usually confessed his faults without seeking to excuse them: He listened to this story with attention, perceived the design of Mandana in telling it, and resolved to correct himself.

Soon after this, he gave a notable proof of his genius and courage. He was scarce sixteen years of age when Merodac, son of Nabuchodonosor King of Assyria, assembled some troops, and under pretence of a great hunting made a sudden irruption into Media: He marched in person with twelve thousand men towards the first strong places belong-

ing to the Medes, encamped near them, and from thence sent out detachments every day to scour and ravage the country. Astyages had notice of it; and having given the necessary orders for assembling his army, he set out with his son Cyaxares and young Cyrus, followed only by some troops levied in haste, to the number of eight thousand men. When he was come near the borders of his own country, he encamped upon a rising ground, from whence he could discover the plain which the detachments of Merodac were laying waste. Astyages ordered two of his general officers to go and observe the enemy; Cyrus desired leave to accompany them, in order to inform himself of the situation of the country, the advantageous posts, and the strength of the Assyrian army: Having made his observations he came back, and gave an exact account of all he had seen.

The next day Merodac left his camp and advanced towards the Medes; whereupon Astyages assembled a council of war to deliberate upon the motions he should make. The general officers, fearing the numbers of the enemy, thought it most advisable to retire, or at least to suspend all action till the arrival of fresh troops. Cyrus, who was impatient to engage, heard their opinions with uneasiness, but observed a profound silence out of respect to the Emperor, and so many experienced commanders; at length Astyages ordered him to speak. He then rose up in the midst of the assembly, and with a noble and modest air, said: Merodac is now in full march, but he cannot come up with us without passing between a wood to his right and a morass to his left. Let the army advance to attack him in that place, where he will not be able to extend his troops and surround us. In the mean time I will convey my self with five hundred young Medes through this deep narrow valley,

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and line the wood. I have juſt cauſed it to be viewed, and find that the enemy have neglected this poſt.

He ſaid no more, bluſhed, and feared to have ſpoken too much. All admired his genius for war at ſuch tender years; and Aſtyages ſurprized at his ready thought and judgment, immediately commanded that his counſel ſhould be followed. Cyaxares marched ſtrait to meet the enemy, while Cyrus accompanied by Hyſtaſpes filed off with a body of voluntiers, and without being diſcovered ſeized an angle of the wood. The Prince of the Medes attacked the Aſſyrians in the narroweſt part of the paſs, and while Aſtyages advanced to ſuſtain him, Cyrus ſallied out of the wood, fell upon the enemy in flank, and with his voice animated the Medes, who all followed him with ardour; he covered himſelf with his ſhield, pierced into the thickeſt of the battalions, and ſpread terror and ſlaughter where-ever he came. The Aſſyrians ſeeing themſelves thus attacked on all ſides, loſt courage and fled in diſorder. As ſoon as the battle was over, generoſity and humanity reſumed their empire in the breaſt of Cyrus: He was ſenſibly touched with ſeeing the field covered with dead bodies: He took the ſame care of the wounded Aſſyrians as of the Medes, and gave the neceſſary orders for their cure. They are men, ſaid he, as well as we, and are no longer enemies when once they are vanquiſhed. The Emperor, having taken his precautions to prevent ſuch irruptions for the future, return'd to Ecbatan.

Mandana being ſoon after oblig'd to leave Media and return to Cambyſes, would have taken her ſon with her, but Aſtyages oppoſed it: Why, ſaid he, will you deprive me of the pleaſure of ſeeing Cyrus? He will here learn military diſcipline which is not yet known in Perſia. I conjure you by the tenderneſs

tenderneſs which I have always ſhewn you, not to refuſe me this conſolation. Mandana could not yield her conſent but with great reluctance. She dreaded the leaving her ſon in the midſt of a court which was the ſeat of voluptuouſneſs. Being alone with Cyrus: My ſon, ſaid ſhe, Aſtyages deſires that you ſhould continue here with him; yet I cannot without concern reſolve to leave you: I fear leſt the purity of your manners ſhould be ſtained, and you ſhould be intoxicated with fooliſh paſſions. The firſt ſteps to vice will ſeem to be only innocent amuſements, a well-bred compliance with received cuſtoms, and a liberty which you muſt allow your ſelf in order to pleaſe. Virtue may come by degrees to be thought too ſevere, an enemy to pleaſure and ſociety, and even contrary to nature, becauſe it oppoſes inclination; in a word, you will perhaps look upon it as a matter of mere decency, a politick phantom, a popular prejudice, from which men ought to get free, when they can indulge their paſſions in ſecret. Thus you may go from one ſtep to another, till your underſtanding be infatuated, your heart led aſtray, and you run into all ſorts of crimes.

Leave Hyſtaſpes with me, reply'd Cyrus; he will teach me to avoid all theſe dangers. Friendſhip has long accuſtom'd me to open my heart to him, and he is not only my counſellor, but the confident of my weakneſſes. Hyſtaſpes was an experienc'd commander who had ſerv'd many years under Aſtyages, in his wars againſt the Scythians and the King of Lydia, and had all the virtues of the ancient Perſians, together with the politeneſs of the Medes. Being a great politician and a great philoſopher, a man equally able and diſintereſted, he had riſen to the firſt employments of the ſtate without ambition, and poſſeſs'd them with modeſty. Mandana being perſuaded of the virtue and capacity of Hyſtaſpes,

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as well as of the advantages her ſon might find by living in a court that was no leſs brave and knowing in the art of war than polite, obey'd Aſtyages with the leſs regret. She began her journey ſoon after, and Cyrus accompanied her ſome leagues from Ecbatana; at parting ſhe embrac'd him with tenderneſs; My ſon, ſaid ſhe, remember that your virtue alone can make me happy. The young Prince melted into tears, and could make no anſwer; this was his firſt ſeparation from her: He followed her with his eyes till ſhe was out of ſight, and then return'd to Ecbatan.

Cyrus continued at the court of Aſtyages without being infected by it. This however was not owing to the precautions of Mandana, the counſels of Hyſtaſpes, or his own natural virtue, but to love. There was then at Ecbatan a young Princeſs named Caſſandana, related to Cyrus, and daughter of Pharnaſpes, who was of the race of the Achemenides. Her mother dying, her father, who was one of the principal Satraps of Perſia, had ſent her to the court of Aſtyages, to be there educated under the eye of Ariana Queen of the Medes. Caſſandana had all the politeneſs of that court without any of its faults; her wit was equal to her beauty, and her modeſty heighten'd the charms of both; her imagination was lively, but directed by her judgment; a juſtneſs of thought was as natural to her as a gracefulneſs of expreſſion and manner; the delicate ſtrokes of wit, with which her eaſy and chearful converſation abounded, were unſtudied and unaffected; nor were the acquir'd accompliſhments of her mind inferior to her natural graces and virtues; but ſhe concealed her talents with ſo much care, or diſcovered them with ſo much reſerve, that every thing in her ſeem'd the work of pure nature. She had entertain'd a particular regard for Cyrus from the firſt moment ſhe had ſeen him, but had

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ſo carefully hid her ſentiments as not to be ſuſpected.

Proximity of blood gave Cyrus frequent opportunities of ſeeing her, and diſcourſing with her. Her converſation poliſhed the manners of the young Prince, who inſenſibly acquired by it a delicacy with which till then he had been unacquainted. The beauties and virtues of the Princeſs produced by degrees in his ſoul all the motions of that noble paſſion, which ſoftens the hearts of heroes without leſſening their courage, and which places the principal charm of love in the pleaſure of loving. Precepts, maxims and ſevere leſſons, do not always preſerve the mind from the poiſoned arrows of ſenſuality. Virtue does not render the heart inſenſible, but it often happens that a well-placed love is the only ſecurity from dangerous and criminal paſſions.

Cyrus enjoyed in the converſation of Caſſandana all the pleaſures of the pureſt friendſhip, without daring to declare his love; his youth and his modeſty made him timorous. Nor was it long before he felt all the pains, diſquiets and alarms, which ever attend upon ſuch paſſions, even when they are moſt innocent. Caſſandana's beauty created him a rival; Cyaxares felt the power of her charms; he was much about the ſame age with Cyrus, but of a very different character; he had wit and courage, but was of an impetuous, haughty diſpoſition, and ſhewed already but too great a propenſity to all the vices common to young Princes. Caſſandana could love nothing but virtue, and her heart had made its choice. She dreaded more than death a marriage which ſhould naturally have flattered her ambition. Cyaxares was unacquainted with the delicacy of love: His high rank augmented his natural haughtineſs, and the manners of the Medes authorized his preſumption; ſo that he uſed little

little precaution or ceremony in letting the Princeſs know his paſſion for her. He immediately perceived her indifference, ſought for the cauſe of it, and was not long in making the diſcovery. In all publick diverſions ſhe appeared gay and free with him, but was more reſerved with Cyrus. The guard ſhe kept upon herſelf, gave her an air of conſtraint, which was not natural to her. She anſwered to all the civilities of Cyaxares with ready and lively ſtrokes of wit; but when Cyrus ſpoke to her, ſhe could hardly conceal her perplexity.

The Prince of Perſia being little skilled in the ſecrets of love, did not interpret the conduct of Caſſandana in the ſame manner with his rival. He imagined that ſhe was pleaſed with the paſſion of Cyaxares, and that her eyes were dazzled with the luſtre of that Prince's crown. He experienced alternately the uncertainty and hope, the pains and pleaſures of a lively paſſion: His trouble was too great to be long concealed; Hyſtaſpes perceived it, and ſaid to him: For ſome time paſt I have obſerved that you are thoughtful and abſent; I believe I ſee into the cauſe of it, you are in love, Cyrus; there is no way to vanquiſh love, but to cruſh it in its birth. You are ignorant of its wiles, and the dangers into which it leads; at firſt it enchants with its ſweetneſs, but in the end it poiſons: It paſſes in the beginning for nothing more than a homage paid to merit, and a ſentiment worthy of a tender and generous heart; by little and little the ſoul loſes its vigour, the underſtanding is bewildered, and the intoxication augments; that which ſeemed in its birth an innocent inclination and a lovely paſſion, becomes on a ſudden all fury and madneſs. Cyrus touched to the quick by theſe words, hearkened to them with great uneaſineſs; he frequently changed colour, but durſt not make any anſwer. Hyſtaſpes knowing that examples make a deeper impreſſion

preſſion than reaſoning related to him the hiſtory of Zarina and Stryangeus; in which we have an inſtance of the fatal conſequences of a violent paſſion, and at the ſame time of the poſſibility of ſurmounting it.

[c] In the reign of Cyaxares ſon of Phraortes, ſaid he, a bloody war was kindled between the Sacæ and the Medes. The troops of Cyaxares were commanded by his ſon-in law Stryangeus, the braveſt and moſt accompliſhed Prince of all the Eaſt. He had married Rhetea the Emperor's daughter, who had both wit and beauty, and was of a moſt amiable temper. Nothing had hitherto either leſſened or diſturbed their mutual paſſion. Zarina, Queen of the Sacæ, put herſelf at the head of her own troops; for ſhe was not only adorned with all the charms of her ſex, but was miſtreſs of the moſt heroick virtues: Having been educated at the court of Media, ſhe had there contracted an intimate friendſhip with Rhetea from her childhood. For two whole years the war was carried on with equal advantages on both ſides. Truces were often made in order to treat of peace; and during theſe ceſſations of arms, Zarina and Stryangeus had frequent interviews. The great qualities which he diſcovered in this Princeſs immediately produced eſteem; and under the cover of that eſteem, love ſoon inſinuated itſelf into his heart. He no longer endeavour'd to put an end to the war, for fear of being ſeparated from Zarina; but he made frequent truces, in which love had a greater ſhare than policy.

The Emperor at length ſent expreſs orders to give a deciſive battle. In the heat of the engage-

[c] *This ſtory has its foundation in antiquity, and is taken from Nicolaus of Dam. Cteſias and Died. Sic.*

ment

ment the two commanders met each other; Stryangeus would have avoided Zarina, but she, whose heart was yet free from any thing which should restrain her, attacked him, and obliged him to defend himself: Let us spare, cried she, the blood of our subjects: It belongs to us alone to put an end to the war. Love and glory by turns animated the young hero; he was equally afraid of conquering and of being conquered: He frequently exposed his own life by sparing Zarina's, but at length found means to gain the victory; he threw his javelin with a skilful hand, yet scarce had he let it fly when he repented, and would have recalled it; the Queen's horse was wounded; the horse fell, and the Queen with him: Stryangeus flew instantly to her relief, and would have no other fruit of his victory, than the pleasure of saving what he loved. He offered her peace with all sorts of advantages, preserved her dominions to her, and, in the name of the Emperor, swore a perpetual alliance with her at the head of the two armies. After this he begged permission to wait upon her to her capital, and she consented to it; but their motives were very different. Zarina's thoughts were wholly taken up with the care of testifying her gratitude, while Stryangeus sought only an opportunity of discovering his love; he accompanied the Princess in her chariot, and they were conducted with pomp to Roxanacia. Stryangeus easily found means to prolong his stay there. It was necessary that the Emperor should ratify by a treaty the engagements into which his General had entered; and the Prince by his address caused several difficulties to be started which might make his presence requisite at the court of Zarina. He artfully made advantage of these negociations to let the Queen see how much he had her interest at heart; he at first concealed his designs that he might secure her friendship. Virtuous

souls

ſouls do not eaſily entertain diſtruſt, their very innocence helps to betray them when they are ignorant of the wiles of love. Zarina was all gratitude, and her eſteem for Stryangeus began by little and little to grow into affection, without her perceiving it. She often ſuffered her ſentiments to break forth in the moſt conſpicuous manner, becauſe ſhe knew not as yet the ſource of them; ſhe taſted the ſecret ſweets of a young and growing paſſion, and was unwilling to examine into the motions of her own heart; but at length ſhe diſcovered, that love had too great a ſhare in them; ſhe bluſhed at her weakneſs, and reſolved to get the better of it; ſhe preſſed the departure of Stryangeus, but the young Mede could not leave Roxanacia: He was no longer mindful of glory, he forgot all his affection for Rhetea, he yielded himſelf up entirely to a blind paſſion, ſighed, complained, and being no longer maſter of himſelf, declared his love to Zarina in the ſtrongeſt and moſt paſſionate terms.

The Queen did not ſeek to hide the ſituation of her mind, but ſhunning all affected evaſions and myſtery, anſwered with a noble frankneſs: I am indebted to you for my life and for my crown; my love is equal to my gratitude, and my heart is no leſs touched than yours; but I will ſooner die than betray my virtue, or ſuffer that your glory ſhould receive the leaſt blemiſh. Conſider, dear Stryangeus, that you are the husband of Rhetea, whom I love: Honour and friendſhip oblige me equally to ſacrifice a paſſion which would prove my ſhame and her misfortune. As ſhe ended theſe words ſhe retired. Stryangeus remained confounded, and in deſpair: He ſhut himſelf up in his apartment, and felt by turns all the contrary motions of an heroick ſoul that is combated, conquered and inſulted by a violent and tyrannical paſſion. One while he is jealous of Zarina's glory, and reſolves to imitate her:

The next moment cruel love ſports with his reſolutions, and even with his virtue. In this tempeſt of paſſions his underſtanding is clouded, his reaſon forſakes him, and he reſolves to kill himſelf; but he firſt writes theſe words to Zarina. "I ſaved your "life, and you take away mine; I fall the victim "of my love and of your virtue, being unable to "conquer the one or to imitate the other. Death "alone can put an end to my crime, and to my tor-"ment. Farewel for ever." He ſent this letter to the Queen, who inſtantly flew to the apartment of the young Mede; but he had already plunged the dagger into his breaſt; ſhe ſaw him weltring in his blood, fell into a ſwoon, came again to herſelf, and by her tears called back his ſoul that was ready to take its flight. He ſighed, opened his eyes, beheld the grief of Zarina, and conſented to have his wound taken care of, which for many days was thought mortal.

Rhetea being inform'd of this tragical adventure, ſoon arrived at Roxanacia. Zarina related to her all that had happen'd, without concealing either her weakneſs or her reſiſtance. Such noble ſimplicity cannot be underſtood or reliſhed but by great ſouls. Tho' the war between the Sacæ and the Medes had interrupted the correſpondence of theſe two Princeſſes, it had not in the leaſt diminiſhed their friendſhip; they knew and eſteem'd each other too well to be ſuſceptible of diſtruſt or jealouſy. Rhetea always beheld Stryangeus with the eyes of a lover: She lamented and compaſſionated his weakneſs, becauſe ſhe ſaw it was involuntary. His wound was at length heal'd, but he was not cur'd of his love: Zarina in vain preſſed his departure, he was not able to tear himſelf away from that fatal place; his paſſion and his torments were renew'd. Rhetea perceiv'd it and fell into a deep ſadneſs; ſhe ſuffered all the moſt cruel agitations of ſoul: Grief for being no longer lov'd by a

man whom alone ſhe loved; commiſeration for a husband given up to deſpair; eſteem for a rival whom ſhe could not hate. She ſaw herſelf every day between a lover hurried away by his paſſion, and a virtuous friend whom ſhe admired; and that her life was the misfortune of both. How cruel a ſituation for a generous and tender heart! The more ſhe concealed her pain, the more ſhe was oppreſſed by it. She ſunk at laſt under the weight, and fell dangerouſly ſick. One day when ſhe was alone with Zarina and Stryangeus, ſhe dropt theſe words; I am dying; but I die content, ſince my death will make you happy.

Zarina melted into tears at theſe words and withdrew: theſe words pierced the heart of Stryangeus: He looked upon Rhetea and beheld her pale, languiſhing, and ready to expire with grief and love. The Princeſs's eyes were fix'd and immovably faſten'd upon the Prince; his own at length were open'd: He was like a man who awakes from a profound ſleep, or comes out of a delirium, where nothing had appear'd in its natural ſhape. He had ſeen Rhetea every day without perceiving the cruel condition to which he had reduc'd her; he ſaw her at preſent with other eyes; it awaken'd all his virtue, and kindled again all his former tenderneſs. He acknowledged his error, threw himſelf at her feet, and, embracing her, repeated often theſe words, interrupted by tears and ſighs; Live, my dear Rhetea, live to give me the pleaſure of repairing my fault; I am now acquainted with all the value of your heart. Theſe words brought her again to life; her beauty returned by degrees with her ſtrength: She departed ſoon after with Stryangeus for Ecbatana, and from that time nothing ever diſturb'd their union.

You ſee by this, continued Hyſtaſpes, to what extremities love may reduce the greateſt heroes; you ſee likewiſe the power of reſolution and courage in con-

conquering the moſt violent paſſions, when we have a ſincere deſire to get the victory. I ſhould fear nothing for you if there were at this court ſuch perſons as Zarina; but heroick virtue like hers would now be thought romantick, or rather a ſavage inſenſibility. The manners of the Medes are very much chang'd: Caſſandana, continued he with deſign, is the only perſon I ſee here who is worthy of your affection. He was going on, when Cyrus interrupting him cry'd out, You have nam'd the dear object of my heart; Caſſandana has render'd me inſenſible to every thing that could have ſeduced my virtue, I love her, but I am not loved. The Prince ſtopp'd here, fearing to have ſaid too much; he look'd upon Hyſtaſpes to ſee whether he approv'd of his love.

Hyſtaſpes overjoy'd to have diſcover'd the Prince's paſſion by this innocent artifice, reſolved inſtantly to employ all his endeavours to cure him of it, but yet to manage him with delicacy and tenderneſs; he diſſembled his concern, and embracing the young Prince, with a ſerene countenance ſaid to him, Caſſandana's beauty is the leaſt of her charms, her heart is as pure as her underſtanding is bright: I cannot however approve of your paſſion, you know that Cambyſes has other views for you. He deſigns you for the Daughter of Crœſus, one of the moſt potent Monarchs of the Eaſt. It is by this marriage that you muſt begin to verify the Oracles; Perſia is a tributary province, too inconſiderable to be the centre of a vaſt empire, and the ſcene of thoſe great exploits to which the Gods have deſtined you; do not oppoſe their decrees: You cannot without a crime give your heart to any other but her whom Cambyſes has choſen for you; remember the ſtory of Stryangeus, and the exceſſes to which that hero was hurried by his love. This diſcourſe threw Cyrus back into his former ſadneſs; but out of friendſhip

for Hyſtaſpes he concealed his pains without diſguiſing his ſentiments. If the great Oromazes, ſaid he with a ſubmiſſive tone of voice, decrees me for the daughter of the King of Lydia, he will doubtleſs give me the ſtrength to get the maſtery of my paſſion. But, alas, can you compare my love for Caſſandana with that of Stryangeus for Zarina? That Prince's love, anſwered Hyſtaſpes, was criminal, but yours cannot be innocent, if it be not approved of by Cambyſes. He durſt not ſay any more, well knowing, that oppoſition for the moſt part ſerves only to irritate the minds of young perſons. He contented himſelf with obſerving for ſome days all the Prince's motions, and at length concluded that the only means to cure him of his paſſion was to ſeparate him from the object of it. He inform'd Cambyſes of Cyrus's affection for Caſſandana, and as the King of Perſia had other views for his ſon which ſuited better with his politicks, he recalled him into Perſia.

The young Prince received his father's orders with a concern that was ſuitable to the violence of his love. Caſſandana on the other hand could not ſupport the thought of a ſeparation, which left her wholly expoſed to the importunities of Cyaxares, and ſhe gave herſelf up to grief; even love itſelf obliged her to fly what ſhe loved; ſhe was afraid of contributing to the misfortunes of Cyrus by approving of his paſſion: But while ſhe carefully avoided him, he ſought for her with eagerneſs; and decency at length required ſhe ſhould ſee him to receive his laſt adieu. The Prince was no longer able to hide his ſentiments, he diſcovered at the ſame time both the violence of his paſſion and the exceſs of his affliction. Some tears dropped from the Princeſs's eyes, and in ſpite of her reſervedneſs theſe words eſcaped her: Ah Gods, why have you given me a heart capable of tenderneſs, if you forbid me to love?

love? She blushed as she uttered these words and retired. Cyrus durst not follow her; the joy of finding that he was loved by Cassandana, and the fear of losing her, excited such a tempest of contrary motions in his soul as exceedingly distressed him. After a long struggle and violent agitations of mind, he at length flattered himself, that when he arrived at the court of Persia he might be able to move Cambyses, by the help of Mandana, and this hope hindered him from sinking under the weight of so cruel a separation.

The young nobility would accompany him to the frontiers of Media. As he went from Ecbatan, he often stopped to look back upon the place where he had left Cassandana; at length he lost sight of that stately city, and continued his way. When he came to the frontiers where the young Medes were to leave him, he made them all rich presents, but with admirable distinction, preferring merit and service to birth and rank. During the rest of the journey, the hope of engaging Mandana in the interests of his love seemed entirely to calm his mind, and diffused an air of contentment upon his face which he had not before. His return into Persia was celebrated by publick feasting and rejoicings; and when these were over, he left his father's palace, and retired to the place allotted for the education of the young Persian nobility, where he continued till he was eighteen. The young Satrapes, seeing Cyrus returned, said one to another: He has been living delicately at the court of Media, he will never be able to accustom himself to our simple and laborious manner of life: But when they saw that he was content with their ordinary diet, that he was more temperate and abstemious than they themselves, and that he shewed more skill and courage in all his exercises, they were struck with admiration, and confess'd, that he had

yet a juſter title to the throne by his merit than by his birth.

Some days after his return Cambyſes ſent for him, and ſeeming ignorant of his paſſion for Caſſandana, imparted to him the deſign he had of ſpeedily marrying him to Candaules, daughter of the King of Lydia. Cyrus made no anſwer but by a deep ſigh and a reſpectful ſilence; but the moment he left the King he ran to the Queen's apartment to diſcloſe to her the ſecret of his heart. I have followed your counſels, ſaid he, at the court of Ecbatan, I have lived inſenſible to all the moſt enticing charms of voluptuouſneſs; but I owe nothing to myſelf on this account, I owe all to the daughter of Pharnaſpes; I love her, and this love has preſerved me from all the errors and extravagancies of youth: Do not think that my attachment to her is only a tranſient liking which may ſoon be over; I have never loved any other than Caſſandana, and I feel that I never can love but her alone: Will you ſuffer the happineſs of my life to be made a ſacrifice to political views? It is pretended that my marriage with the daughter of Crœſus is the firſt ſtep I muſt take to enlarge my Empire, but ſurely the Gods can make me a Conqueror without making me miſerable. Mandana perceived that her ſon's paſſion was yet too ſtrong to ſuffer any remonſtrances againſt it, and hoping that time and abſence would inſenſibly weaken it, ſhe in the mean time ſoothed and encouraged him.

Caſſandana lived ſtill at the court of Ecbatan, but ſhe always received Cyaxares with great coldneſs: He owed all the complaiſance ſhe had ſhewn him to Cyrus's preſence. The pleaſure of ſeeing Cyrus, of loving him, and being loved by him, filled her ſoul with a ſecret joy that diffuſed itſelf through all her actions: But after the departure of the young Prince, her converſation, which had before been ſo ſprightly and chearful, was changed into a mournful ſilence:

She

She languiſh'd, her lively wit ſeem'd to be extinguiſh'd, and all her natural charms to diſappear. In the mean while Pharnaſpes fell dangerouſly ill at the court of Perſia, and deſired to ſee his daughter; upon this news ſhe left Ecbatan in haſte, to pay the laſt duties to her father. Several ladies of the court regretted her, but the greater part rejoiced at the abſence of a Princeſs, whoſe manners were too perfect a model of diſcreet conduct. Cyaxares ſaw the departure of Caſſandana with inexpreſſible diſſatisfaction: Spite, jealouſy, hatred to his rival, all the paſſions which ariſe from ſlighted love, tyrannized over his heart. He gave orders to young Araſpes, the ſon of Harpagus, to go privately through by-ways and ſtop Caſſandana, and to conduct her to a ſolitary place on the borders of the Caſpian ſea.

Araſpes, though he had been educated amidſt all the pleaſures of a voluptuous court, had nevertheleſs preſerved noble and generous ſentiments, and ſincerely abhorred every thing that was diſhonourable: Whatever faults he had, proceeded rather from eaſineſs and complaiſance than vicioufneſs; he was of an amiable temper and a ſound underſtanding; and being born for arms, as well as formed for a court, was qualified for any employment civil or military. He communicated the orders, given him by Cyaxares, to his father Harpagus, who loved Cyrus. Harpagus, having long ſignalized his courage in war, lived at the court of Ecbatan, without being corrupted by it: He beheld with concern the manners of the age, but ſaid little, chuſing rather to condemn them by his conduct than by his diſcourſe. I foreſee, ſaid he to Araſpes, all the misfortunes which virtue will bring upon us; but beware of gaining the Prince's favour by a crime: Go, my ſon, and inſtead of oppreſſing innocence, make haſte to its ſuccour. Araſpes departed with expedition, overtook the Princeſs near Aſpadana, told her the orders of Cyaxares,

and offered to conduct her into Persia. She wept for joy to see the generosity of the young Mede, and made haste to gain the frontiers of her own country. Pharnaspes died before his daughter could reach the court of Cambyses. When the Princess had mourn'd for the death of her father as nature and decency required, she at length saw Cyrus, and informed him of the generous proceeding of Araspes. The Prince from that moment conceived a tender friendship for him, which lasted to the end of their lives. But Cyaxares resolved to revenge himself of Araspes, and this in so cruel a manner as was a dishonour to human nature. He caused Harpagus's second son to be murdered, and his mangled limbs to be served up before the unhappy father at a feast. The report of so horrible a cruelty stirred up the indignation of all the Medes: But Astyages, being blinded by paternal affection, would not see nor punish his son's crime: And thus a Prince who was naturally beneficent, countenanced vice by a shameful weakness: He knew not the value of virtue, and was only good by complexion. Harpagus being utterly disconsolate, retired from the court of Ecbatan, and went privately into Persia, where Cambyses granted him all the advantages and honours he could offer him to compensate his losses in Media.

Cassandana being not without hopes that Cambyses would be prevailed on to alter his designs, lived at the court of Persia in great tranquillity. By her virtue, wit and good sense she had gained the heart of Mandana, whose sentiments in relation to her son's marriage were altered by the death of Pharnaspes. Cassandana's mother was daughter of the King of Armenia, and the young Princess might one day be heiress of that Crown; an alliance with Crœsus would probably excite the jealousy of the Eastern Princes against Cyrus, and Lydia was at too great a distance to have speedy succours from thence; even the

the Oracles themselves seemed to be against this alliance, seeing they foretold that Lydia was to be Cyrus's first conquest. All these reasons joined together determined Mandana to oppose no longer her son's inclination; however, she durst not for the present discover her thoughts to Cambyses, because he was still eagerly bent upon an alliance with the King of Lydia.

Crœsus had long formed the design of extending his dominions in Asia. His numerous troops, and his prodigious wealth had inspired him with these ambitious thoughts. He had drawn into his service, or into his alliance, the Egyptians, the Thracians, the Greeks, and divers nations that were settled in Asia minor; he beheld with a jealous eye the conquests of Nabuchodonosor, and was seeking all means to stop the progress of them; he knew that Cyrus would be heir to the crown of Media in case Cyaxares died without children; the Persians had acquired the reputation of a warlike people, and their country was conveniently situated for making incursions upon the territories of the King of Babylon, if ever that Prince should begin a war with Lydia. These considerations made Crœsus very desirous of informing himself by his own eyes of the respective forces of the Kings of Media and Babylon, and of the advantages of an alliance with the one and with the other: And having more artifice and ambition than skill and prudence he rashly resolved to leave his dominions, which were not then very distant from Media [h], and convey himself, with all his court, into the very heart of Asia. In order to conceal his real views, he raised several difficulties concerning the marriage of his daughter with Cyrus, which could not be well adjusted by

[h] *Sir Isaac Newton's chronology, pag.* 316. *Herod. lib.* 1. *cap.* 73. 74.

embaſſies, and he propoſed a conference with Cambyſes on the confines of Perſia: Suza being a neutral city, was choſen for the congreſs; it was at this time under the government of Phraates, a tributary Prince to the Babylonians, and father of Abradates, who was afterwards ſo remarkable for his devotion to Cyrus. Crœſus carried the Queen of Lydia and his daughter with him, under pretence of letting them ſee Cyrus before the concluſion of the marriage. He ſent notice to the court of Perſia of his departure for Suza, upon which Cambyſes prepared likewiſe for his journey thither. But this news threw the young Prince of Perſia into the utmoſt deſpair, and Caſſandana into a terrible conſternation. She had no diſtruſt of Cyrus's conſtancy, but ſhe dreaded the ambition of Cambyſes. Mandana, who was ſteady in her views, deſired that Caſſandana might go with the court to Suza: Cambyſes at firſt oppoſed it, but fearing to heighten his ſon's paſſion for that Princeſs by a forced ſeparation, he at length yielded to the dextrous inſinuations of the Queen; he flattered himſelf with the hope of changing his ſon's inclination by the new object he ſhould preſent him with, and which indeed would have been capable of ſtealing away the heart of Cyrus, had he been of that fickle humour ſo natural to young Princes.

The two courts being met at Suza, the firſt days were ſpent in feaſting and rejoicings. Crœſus, who was naturally vain, affected a pompous ſhew of magnificence. Cambyſes, like a wiſe Prince, placed all his glory in the genius and military virtues of his ſubjects. The extraordinary concourſe of men of two nations ſo different in their manners, created a wonderful diverſity in all the publick ſhews and entertainments, and a perfect contraſt of courtiers and warriors. The Lydians, though not grown quite effeminate, made a ſhining figure by the magnificence

nificence of their dreſs, the delicacy of their manners, and the ſprightlineſs of their converſation: But the Perſians, who were rough without ferocity, humane without politeneſs, and haughty notwithſtanding their ſimplicity, carried all the prizes in the games by their ſuperior addreſs and ſtrength of body. The negotiations were ſoon begun; and while the two Kings employed all the arts of policy to promote their deſigns, attentive love ſet all his engines at work to diſconcert them, and render them fruitleſs.

The daughter of Crœſus no ſooner appeared at Suza, but all eyes were dazzled with her charms, and the Perſians univerſally cry'd out that ſhe alone was worthy of Cyrus, and the only Princeſs who could make him happy. She had a manner and a turn of mind which were perfectly agreeable to the taſte and genius of that people; her noble and ſprightly air was temper'd with a majeſtick ſweetneſs; ſhe lov'd hunting and other maſculine exerciſes, and never ſhewed any token of the weakneſſes natural to her ſex; the more ſhe was ſeen the more ſhe diſcover'd of rare accompliſhments. Her ſuperior graces and wit eclipſed thoſe of all the Lydian, Suzan and Perſian ladies. Caſſandana's beauty maintain'd its prerogative no where but in the heart of Cyrus. One baſhful, tender, modeſt look from that Princeſs was ſufficient to render him inſenſible to all the charms of Candaules. He behav'd himſelf however with ſo much diſcretion in publick, that the fair Lydian did not perceive his indifference; but he was no ſooner alone with her than he became penſive and ſeem'd quite abſent; ſhe was far from gueſſing the cauſe of it, and made him ſometimes call home his thoughts by delicate ſtrokes of raillery, to which he ſeldom gave her any anſwer; when he did, he ſeem'd always embarraſs'd

and at a loſs; the Princeſs imputed this to a want of ſenſe rather than of ſenſibility, and ſhe began to repent of her journey. The negotiations went on, but Cyrus ſought all means to retard them; neither the anger of Cambyſes, nor the counſels of Hyſtaſpes made any impreſſion on his mind. Nevertheleſs he inwardly condemn'd himſelf for his rebellion againſt his father's will; he begged time to vanquiſh his paſſion, and promiſed to uſe his utmoſt efforts to get the maſtery of it; nay he thought himſelf ſincere in the promiſes he made, but he ſaw Caſſandana and all his reſolutions vaniſh'd. He preſs'd, importun'd, made his tears plead with Mandana, and us'd all his arguments with Cambyſes; he juſtify'd his paſſion to himſelf by the Oracles, and wou'd needs believe, that the Gods, by calling him to the conqueſt of Lydia, were ſecretly averſe from his father's deſigns; he left no pretext unemployed to keep off the marriage, and love favour'd his endeavours.

The Lydian Princeſs had known Caſſandana at the court of Ecbatan, and ſhe loved her with true affection. She never once imagined herſelf to be her rival. Caſſandana on the other hand felt no regret nor jealouſy to ſee the homage that was paid to her friend's beauty, but ſhe could not conſent to loſe the heart of Cyrus; ſhe never ſaw the young Lydian without uneaſineſs; ſhe would not deceive her, and ſhe durſt not ſpeak to her; ſhe was afraid of dropping the leaſt word which might either be unworthy of her love, or impoſe upon her friend; her trouble and her alarms were daily augmented, the amuſements of the court became inſipid to her, ſhe ſcarce appear'd any more in publick; ſhe retir'd at length to a ſolitary place upon the frontiers of Perſia where the Princes of her family us'd ordinarily to reſide. It was about twenty furlongs from

from Suza [1], in a pleasant vale water'd by three rivers, whose copious streams being multiply'd by the industrious inhabitants, and distributed into several canals, fertilis'd the meadows and kept them in a perpetual verdure. On one side the little hills which rose one above another were cover'd with olive, pomgranate and orange trees; nature shew'd herself there in her richest and gayest dress: The lofty mountains which appear'd at a greater distance all around, and with their craggy tops seem'd to touch the sky, serv'd as a barrier against the winds. Through the middle of a garden less beautify'd by art than nature, ran a chrystal stream, which falling on a bed of pebbles form'd a cascade, whose agreeable murmur sooth'd the soul to sweet musings. Not far from hence a wild vine, interweaving its branches with many odoriferous shrubs, afforded all the day long a cool and refreshing shade. Pharnaspes had brought from Babylon the statues of Pyramus and Thisbe, on the pedestals of which was represented in Bas-relief the history of their misfortunes, which had made that city famous before it became so by its conquests: He had placed these statues in a bower, and they were almost the only ornament with which art had beautify'd this peaceful abode.

Candaules being inform'd of her friend's retreat went in all haste to make her a visit. Cassandana was retired into the bower of Pyramus and Thisbe. The Princess of Lydia intending to surprize her, stole softly along behind the trees and beheld her prostrate before the statues; she drew near unseen, and listening to what she said, heard her thus deplore her misfortunes. O ye Manes of chaste lo-

[1] *The description of Bedarides, near the fountain of Veucleuse, famous for the amours of Laura and Petrarch.*

vers, if ye ever come into these places hear my complaints, be witnesses of my passion, and soften the God of love in favour of two the most unhappy of his votaries, whose fortune resembles yours; let him either perfect our union, or put an end to my life, which serves only to be an obstacle to the happiness of Candaules and the grandeur of Cyrus. The Princess of Lydia could refrain no longer, but entred the bower; the two friends embraced each other, and remain'd a long time without words or motion. Candaules was capable of strong and generous friendship, she had never felt the power of love, she had seen Cyrus with other eyes than Cassandana, and continued at the court of Suza more out of obedience than inclination, so that her heart had no sacrifice to make; she at length broke silence with these words: Ah Cassandana, why did you conceal from me your sentiments and your affliction? Banish your fears, Cyrus has made no impression on my heart, I will soon put an end to your misfortunes without giving offence either to Crœsus or Cambyses. After this they pass'd several hours together, made a mutual vow of eternal friendship, and then Candaules returned to Suza.

Cyrus was inform'd of what had pass'd, and being now no longer in any fear of injuring his love, began to contract a very strict friendship with the Lydian Princess. She very soon perceiv'd the wrong judgment she had made of his understanding, and became fully sensible of the superiority of his genius. They jointly concerted measures to disturb the negotiations, and he resum'd his easy, frank and chearful air. Cambyses was rejoiced at this change, imputed it to another cause, and press'd the conclusion of the marriage; but then Crœsus began to dissemble: He had discern'd that it would be much moreadvantageous for him to have an alliance with the King of Babylon than with the King of Persia; and,

while he was privately ſounding the diſpoſitions of Nabuchodonoſor, rais'd ſeveral difficulties which it was impoſſible for Cambyſes to have foreſeen. Candaules had ſeen Merodac, the Aſſyrian Prince, at the court of Lydia, and tho' ſhe was not ſuſceptible of the ſoft paſſion of love, ſhe was much better pleas'd with this match than with the other; her ambition ſtruck in with her friendſhip for Caſſandana, and ſhe us'd all her endeavours to engage her father in this deſign. Mandana having learnt how Candaules ſtood inclined, the more eaſily perſuaded herſelf, that the Oracles were againſt the intended marriage, and endeavour'd to make Cambyſes indifferent about the ſucceſs of the negotiations. Cyrus who knew how every one was diſpos'd, drew thence all poſſible advantage to break off the treaty. Thus religion, love and policy made each act a different part; the conferences were ſpun out to a great length, and nothing was determin'd. But now Crœſus receiving intelligence that the King of Babylon was not averſe from an alliance with him, left Suza on a ſudden without declaring the reaſons of his conduct. Cambyſes was piqued at this proceeding, but like a wiſe Prince diſſembled his reſentment and went back to his capital.

Caſſandana returned ſoon after to the court of Perſia, and Cyrus preſs'd Mandana to ſpeak to his father. Cambyſes who did not eaſily forſake his firſt opinions, was for renewing the negotiations with Crœſus; but the Queen repreſented to him, that Caſſandana by her mother's ſide was granddaughter to the King of Armenia, who was far advanced in years, and had but one ſon; that in caſe this Prince ſhould die ſhe would be heireſs of that crown; that the Oracles ſeem'd to diſcountenance her ſon's marriage with the daughter of Crœſus, having foretold that Cyrus ſhould begin his conqueſts by that of Lydia. Let us leave to the

the Gods, said she, the care of accomplishing their own decrees, without prescribing to them the means they shall employ; they often fulfil their designs by such methods as to us would seem calculated to disappoint them. Two considerable events wrought that effect upon the King's mind, which the Queen's sollicitations would never have done. Advice came that the daughter of Crœsus was promis'd to the son of the King of Babylon, and that these two Princes had entered into a strict alliance: This news disconcerted his schemes; but what determin'd him at length to comply with his son's wishes, was the death of the Prince of Armenia, by which Cassandana became presumptive heiress of that crown.

The nuptials were celebrated according to the manner of the age and of the country. Cyrus and Cassandana were conducted to the top of a high mountain consecrated to the great Oromazes; a fire of odoriferous wood was lighted; the high priest bound together the flowing robes of the two lovers as a symbol of their union: then holding each other by the hand and surrounded by the Estals [k], they danced about the sacred fire, singing, according to the religion of the ancient Persians, the love of Oromazes for his daughter Mythra before the beginning of time; the picture which she presented him, containing the ideas of all things; the production of innumerable worlds resembling those ideas; the birth of the pure Genii, appointed to inhabit those worlds; the revolt of Arimanius against the God Mythras; the origin of the chaos, and how it was reduced to order; the fall of spirits into mortal bodies; the labours of Mythras to raise them

[k] *Esta is a Chaldee word which signifies fire, and from thence comes the Greek word* Ἑστία. *The Romans add V to it and make it Vesta, as of* Ἕσπερα *they make Vespera,* Hyde Rel. Ant. Pers. cap. 7.

again.

again to the Empyreum; and lastly the total destruction of the evil Principle, who diffuses every where hatred, discord and the hellish passions.

The young Prince's happiness increased daily: The more he was acquainted with the mind and heart of Cassandana, the more he discover'd there of those ever new and ever blooming charms which are not to be found in beauty alone. Neither marriage which often weakens the strongest passions, nor that almost invincible fondness for novelty, so universal in mankind, diminish'd in the least the mutual affection of these happy lovers.

THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

SECOND BOOK.

THE Prince of Persia was so enamour'd with Cassandana, and his thoughts were so entirely employ'd in furnishing amusements for her, that there was great reason to fear he would give himself up to an indolent life. He was daily inventing new shews and entertainments unknown before in Persia, and introduc'd all the diversions in vogue at the court of Ecbatan: He gave no attention to business, and even neglected military exercises: This kind of life expos'd him continually to be

be ſeduced by the diſcourſes of the young Satrapes who were about him. The Gymnoſophiſts were beginning at this time to ſpread abroad in Perſia their pernicious doctrine concerning the two principles, which make men virtuous without merit, or vicious without fault, by the force of an invincible fatality. All the younger ſort readily adopted this opinion becauſe it favoured their paſſions: The deadly poiſon was ſtealing by degrees into the heart of Cyrus, and even Araſpes help'd to cheriſh in his breaſt theſe riſing prejudices againſt religion.

On the borders of the Perſian gulf there had been lately ſettled a famous ſchool of Magi, whoſe doctrine was entirely oppoſite to theſe fatal errors. Cyrus had a taſte and a genius which led him to the ſtudy of the ſublimeſt ſciences; and Hyſtaſpes, without letting the Prince perceive his views, laid hold of this advantage to raiſe a deſire in him of converſing with thoſe Sages: As they never left their ſolitude, ſhunning the courts of Princes, and had little intercourſe with other men, Cyrus reſolved to go ſee them in their retreat.

He undertook this journey with Caſſandana, accompanied by Hyſtaſpes, Araſpes, and ſeveral of the Perſian nobles. They croſſed the Plain of Paſſagarda, travelled thro' the country of the Mardi, and arrived upon the banks of the Aroſis. They entered by a narrow paſs into a large valley, encompaſſed with high mountains, the tops of which were covered with oaks, fir-trees and lofty cedars; Below were rich paſtures, in which all ſorts of cattle were feeding; the plain looked like a garden watered by many rivulets, which came from the rocks all around and emptied themſelves into the Aroſis. This river loſt itſelf between two little hills, which, as they opened, preſented to the view ſucceſſive ſcenes of new objects, and diſcovered at diſtances fruitful fields, vaſt foreſts, and the Perſian gulf, which bounded

ed the horizon. Cyrus and Caſſandana, as they advanced in the valley, were invited into a neighbouring grove by the ſound of harmonious muſick. There they beheld, by the ſide of a clear fountain, a great number of men of all ages, and over-againſt them a company of women, who formed a concert. They underſtood that it was the ſchool of the Magi, and were ſurprized to ſee, inſtead of auſtere, melancholy and thoughtful men, an agreeable and polite people.

Theſe Philoſophers looked upon muſick as ſomething heavenly, and proper to calm the paſſions, for which reaſon they always began and finiſhed the day by concerts [l]. After they had given ſome little time in the morning to this exerciſe, they led their diſciples thro' delightful walks to the ſacred mountain, obſerving all the way a profound ſilence; there they offered their homages to the Gods, rather by the voice of the heart, than of the lips. Thus by muſick, pleaſant walks and prayer, they prepar'd themſelves for the contemplation of truth, and put the ſoul into a ſerenity proper for meditation; the reſt of the day was ſpent in ſtudy. Their only repaſt was a little before ſun-ſet, at which time they ate nothing but bread, fruits, and ſome portion of what had been offer'd to the Gods, concluding all with concerts of muſick. [m] Other men begin not the education of their children till after they are born, but the Magi ſeem'd to do it before: While their wives were with child, they took care to keep them always in tranquillity, and a perpetual chearfulneſs, by ſweet and innocent amuſements, to the end that from the mother's womb the fruit might receive no impreſſions, but what were pleaſing, peaceful and agreeable to order.

Each Sage had his province in the empire of Philoſophy; ſome ſtudied the virtues of plants, others

[l] *Strab. lib.* 17. [m] *Ibid.*

the

the metamorphoſes of inſects; ſome again the conformation of animals, and others the courſe of the ſtars: But the aim of all their reſearches was to come to the knowledge of the Gods, and of themſelves. They ſaid, That the ſciences were no further valuable than they ſerved as ſteps to aſcend to the great Oromazes, and from thence to deſcend to man. Tho' the love of truth was the only bond of ſociety among theſe Philoſophers, yet they were not without a head; they called him the Archimagus. He, who then poſſeſſed that honour, was named Zarduſt, or Zoroaſter; He ſurpaſſed the reſt more in wiſdom than in age, for he was ſcarce fifty years old; nevertheleſs he was a conſummate maſter in all the ſciences of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, and had even ſome knowledge of the religion of the Jews, whom he had ſeen at Babylon. Having obſerv'd the corruption which had crept in among the Magi, he had apply'd himſelf to reform their manners and their doctrine [n].

When Cyrus and Caſſandana entred into the grove, the aſſembly roſe up and worſhipped them, bowing themſelves to the earth, according to the cuſtom of the Eaſt; and then retiring left them alone with Zoroaſter. This Philoſopher led them to a bower of myrtle, in the midſt of which was the ſtatue of a woman, which he had carved with his own hands. They all three ſat down in this place upon a ſeat of verdant turf, and Zoroaſter entertain'd the Prince and Princeſs with a diſcourſe of the life, manners and virtues of the Magi. While he was ſpeaking, he frequently caſt a look upon the ſtatue, and as he beheld it his eyes were bathed in tears. Cyrus and Caſſandana obſerved his ſorrow at firſt with a reſpectful ſilence, but afterwards the Princeſs could not forbear asking him the reaſon of it. That ſtatue,

[n] *Agathias de Zor. and Sir Iſaac Newton Chron. p.* 348.

anſwered

anſwered he, is the ſtatue of Selima, who heretofore lov'd me, as you now love Cyrus. It is here that I come to ſpend my ſweeteſt and my bittereſt moments. In ſpite of wiſdom, which ſubmits me to the will of the Gods; in ſpite of the pleaſures I taſte in Philoſophy; in ſpite of the inſenſibility I am in, with regard to all human grandeur, the remembrance of Selima often renews my regrets and my tears. True virtue, tho' it regulates the paſſions, does not extinguiſh tender ſentiments. Theſe words gave Cyrus and Caſſandana a curioſity to know the hiſtory of Selima. The Philoſopher would have excuſed himſelf, but he had already betray'd his ſecret by the ſenſibility he had ſhewn, and could not go back without failing in due reſpect to perſons of ſuch high rank: Having therefore wip'd away his tears he thus began his narration. I am not afraid of letting you know my weakneſs; but I ſhould avoid the recital I am going to make, if I did not foreſee that you may reap ſome uſeful inſtruction from it. I was born a Prince; my father was ſovereign of a little territory in the Indies, which is called the country of the Sophites. Having loſt my way one day when I was hunting, I chanced to ſee in the thick part of a wood a young maid, who was there repoſing herſelf. Her ſurprizing beauty immediately ſtruck me; I became immoveable, and durſt not advance; I imagin'd ſhe was one of thoſe aerial ſpirits, who deſcend ſometimes from the throne of Oromazes, to conduct ſouls back to the Empyreum. Seeing herſelf alone with a man, ſhe fled, and took refuge in a temple that was near the foreſt. I durſt not follow her; but I learnt that her name was Selima, that ſhe was daughter of an old Brachman, who dwelt in that temple, and that ſhe was conſecrated to the worſhip of the fire. The Eſtals may quit celibacy and marry; but while they continue prieſteſſes of the fire, the laws are ſo ſevere among the Indians, that a father

father thinks it an act of religion to throw his daughter alive into the flames, should she ever fall from that purity of manners which she has sworn to preserve.

My father was yet living, and I was not in a condition to force Selima from that asylum; nay had I been King, Princes have no right in that country over persons consecrated to religion. However all these difficulties did but increase my passion; and the violence of it quicken'd my ingenuity: I left my father's palace; I was young, a Prince, and I did not consult reason. I disguis'd myself in the habit of a girl, and went to the temple where the old Brachman lived. I deceiv'd him by a feign'd story, and became one of the Estals, under the name of Amana. The King, my father, who was disconsolate for my sudden leaving him, order'd search to be made for me every where, but to no purpose. Selima not knowing my sex, conceiv'd a particular liking and friendship for me. I never left her; we pass'd our lives together in working, reading, walking, and serving at the altars. I often told her fables and affecting stories, in order to paint forth the wonderful effects of friendship and of love. My design was to prepare her by degrees for the final discovery of my intentions. I sometimes forgot myself while I was speaking, and was so carried away by my vivacity, that she often interrupted me, and said, One would think, Amana, to hear you speak, that you feel in this moment all that you describe. I liv'd in this manner several months with her, and it was not possible for her to discover either my disguise or my passion. As my heart was not corrupted, I had no criminal view; I imagin'd, that if I could engage her to love me, she would forsake her state of life to share my crown with me: I was continually waiting for a favourable moment, to reveal to her my sentiments; but alas! that moment never came.

It

It was a cuſtom among the Eſtals, to go divers times in the year upon a high mountain, there to kindle the ſacred fire, and to offer ſacrifices: We all went up thither one day, accompany'd only by the old Brachman. Scarce was the ſacrifice begun, when we were ſurrounded by a body of men, arm'd with bows and arrows, who carry'd away Selima and her father. They were all on horſeback; I follow'd them ſome time, but they enter'd into a wood, and I ſaw them no more. I did not return to the temple, but ſtole away from the Eſtals, chang'd my dreſs, took another diſguiſe, and forſook the Indies. I forgot my father, my country, and all my obligations; I wander'd over all Aſia in ſearch of Selima: What cannot love do in a young heart given up to its paſſion? One day, as I was croſſing the country of the Lycians, I ſtopt in a great foreſt to ſhelter my ſelf from the exceſſive heat. I preſently ſaw a company of hunters paſs by, and a little after ſeveral women, among whom I thought I diſcover'd Selima: She was in a hunting dreſs, mounted upon a proud courſer, and diſtinguiſh'd from all the reſt by a coronet of flowers. She paſs'd by me ſo ſwiftly, that I could not be ſure whether my conjectures were well founded; but I went ſtrait to the capital.

The Lycians were at that time govern'd by women, which form of government was eſtabliſh'd among them upon the following occaſion. Some years ago the men became ſo effeminate during a long peace, that their thoughts were wholly taken up about their dreſs. They affected the diſcourſe, manners, maxims, and all the imperfections of women, without having either their ſweetneſs or their delicacy; and while they gave themſelves up to infamous lazineſs, the moſt abominable vices took the place of lovely paſſions; they deſpis'd the Lycian women, and treated them like ſlaves: A foreign war

war came upon them; the men being grown cowardly and effeminate were not able to defend their country, they fled and hid themſelves in caves and caverns; the women, being accuſtom'd to fatigue, by the ſlavery they had undergone, took arms, drove away the enemy, became miſtreſſes of the country, and eſtabliſh'd themſelves in authority by an immutable law. From that time the Lycians habituated themſelves to this form of government, and found it the mildeſt and moſt convenient. Their Queens had a council of ſenators, who aſſiſted them with their advice: The men propos'd good laws, but the executive power was in the women. The ſweetneſs and ſoftneſs of the ſex prevented all the miſchiefs of tyranny; and the counſel of the wiſe ſenators qualify'd that inconſtancy, with which women are reproach'd.

I underſtood that the mother of Selima having been dethroned by the ambition of a kinſwoman, her firſt miniſter had fled to the Indies with the young Princeſs; that he had liv'd there ſeveral years as a Brachman, and ſhe as an Eſtal; that this old man having always maintained a correſpondence with the friends of the royal family, the young Queen had been reſtor'd to the throne after the death of the uſurper; that ſhe govern'd with the wiſdom of a perſon who had experienc'd misfortunes; and laſtly, that ſhe had always expreſs'd an invincible diſlike to marriage. This news gave me an inexpreſſible joy; I thank'd the Gods for having conducted me by ſuch wonderful ways near the object of my heart; I implor'd their help, and promis'd never to love but once, if they would favour my paſſion.

I then conſider'd by what method I ſhould introduce my ſelf to the Queen; and finding that war was the moſt proper, I enter'd into the ſervice. There I diſtinguiſh'd myſelf very ſoon; for I refus'd

refus'd no fatigue, I avoided no danger, I ſought the moſt hazardous enterprizes. Upon a day of battle, on the ſucceſs of which the liberty of Lycia depended, the Carians put our troops into diſorder: 'Twas in a large plain, out of which there was but one narrow paſs for the fugitives to eſcape. I gain'd this paſs, and threaten'd to pierce with my javelin whoever ſhould attempt to force it. In this manner I rally'd our troops, and returned to charge the enemy; I routed them and obtained a complete victory. This action drew the attention of all the army upon me: Nothing was ſpoken of but my courage; and all the ſoldiers call'd me the deliverer of their country. I was conducted to the Queen's preſence, who could not recollect me; for we had been ſeparated ſix years, and grief and fatigue had alter'd my features. She ask'd me my name, my country, my family, and ſeem'd to examine my face with a more than common curioſity. I thought I diſcovered by her eyes an inward emotion, which ſhe endeavoured to hide. Strange capriciouſneſs of love! Heretofore I had thought her an Eſtal of mean birth; yet I had reſolved to ſhare my crown with her. This moment I conceived a deſign of engaging her to love me as I had lov'd her; I conceal'd my country and my birth, and told her, I was born in a village of Bactria, of a very obſcure family; upon this ſhe ſuddenly withdrew without anſwering me.

Not long after, ſhe gave me, by the advice of her ſenators, the command of the army; by which I had free acceſs to her perſon. She us'd frequently to ſend for me, under pretence of buſineſs, when ſhe had nothing to ſay; ſhe took a pleaſure in diſcourſing with me. I often painted forth my own ſentiments to her under borrow'd names; the Greek and Egyptian Mythology, which I had learn'd in my travels, furniſhed me with abundant arguments to prove, that the Gods were heretofore enamour'd with mortals,

and that love makes all conditions equal. I remember, that one day while I was relating to her a ſtory of this kind ſhe left me in a great emotion; I diſcover'd by that her hidden ſentiments; and it gave me an inexpreſſible pleaſure to find that ſhe then lov'd me as I had lov'd her. I had frequent converſation with her, by which her confidence in me daily increas'd: I ſometimes made her call to mind the misfortunes of her early youth; and ſhe then gave me an account of her living among the Eſtals, her friendſhip for Amana, and their mutual affection. Scarce was I able to contain myſelf when I heard her ſpeak; I was juſt ready to throw off my diſguiſe; but my falſe delicacy requir'd yet farther, that Selima ſhould do for me what I would have done for her. I was quickly ſatisfy'd; an extraordinary event made me experience all the extent and power of her love.

By the laws of Lycia the perſon who governs is not permitted to marry a ſtranger. Selima ſent for me one day, and ſaid to me: My ſubjects deſire that I would marry; go tell them from me, that I will conſent, upon condition that they leave me free in my choice: She ſpoke theſe words with a majeſtick air, and almoſt without looking upon me. At firſt I trembled, then flatter'd myſelf, then fell into doubt; for I knew the Lycians to be ſtrongly attach'd to their laws: I went nevertheleſs to execute the commands I had receiv'd. When the council was aſſembled I laid before them the Queen's pleaſure, and after much diſpute it was agreed, That ſhe ſhould be left free to chuſe herſelf a husband. I carried Selima the reſult of their deliberation: She then directed me to aſſemble the troops in the ſame plain where I had obtain'd the victory over the Carians, and to hold myſelf ready to obey her farther orders: She likewiſe commanded all the principal men of the nation to repair to the ſame place. A magnificent throne being there erected, the Queen appear'd upon it

it encircled by her courtiers, and spoke to the assembly in the following manner: People of Lycia, ever since I began my reign I have strictly observed your laws; I have appear'd at the head of your armies, and have obtain'd several victories: My only study has been to make you free and happy. Is it just that she who has been the preserver of your liberty should be herself a slave? Is it equitable that she who continually seeks your happiness should be herself miserable? There is no unhappiness equal to that of doing violence to on'es own heart. When the heart is under a constraint, grandeur and royalty serve only to give us a quicker sense of our slavery. I demand therefore to be free in my choice.

This discourse was applauded by the whole assembly, who immediately cried out, You are free, you are dispens'd from the law. The Queen sent me orders to advance at the head of the troops. As soon as I was come near the throne she rose up, and, pointing to me with her hand, There, said she, is my husband; he is a stranger, but his services make him the father of the country; he is not a Prince, but his merit puts him upon a level with Kings. She then order'd me to come up to her; I prostrated myself at her feet, and took all the usual oaths; I promis'd to renounce my country for ever, to look upon the Lycians as my children, and, above all, never to love any other than the Queen. After this she stepp'd down from the throne, and we were conducted back to the capital with pomp, amidst the acclamations of the people. As soon as we were alone, Ah Selima! said I, have you then forgot Amana? 'Tis impossible to express the Queen's surprise or the transport of affection and joy which these words gave her. She knew me, and conjectur'd all the rest; I had no need to speak, and we were both a long time silent: At length I told her my family, my adventures and all the effects that love had produc'd in me. She very

ſoon aſſembled her council, and acquainted them with my birth; ambaſſadors were ſent to the Indies; I renounc'd my crown and country for ever, and my brother was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of my throne.

This was an eaſy ſacrifice; I was in poſſeſſion of Selima, and my happineſs was complete: But alas! this happineſs was of ſhort continuance. In giving myſelf up to my paſſion, I had renounced my country, I had forſaken my father whoſe only conſolation I was, I had forgot all my duty: My love, which ſeem'd ſo delicate, ſo generous, and was the admiration of men, was not approved of by the Gods; accordingly they puniſh'd me for it by the greateſt of all misfortunes; they took Selima from me, ſhe dy'd within a few days after our marriage. I gave myſelf up to the moſt exceſſive ſorrow; but the Gods did not abandon me. I enter'd deeply into myſelf; wiſdom deſcended into my heart, ſhe open'd the eyes of my underſtanding, and I then comprehended the admirable myſtery of the conduct of Oromazes. Virtue is often unhappy, and this ſhocks the reaſon of ſhort-ſighted men; but they are ignorant that the tranſient ſufferings of this life are deſign'd by the Gods to expiate the ſecret faults of thoſe who appear the moſt virtuous. Theſe reflections determin'd me to conſecrate the reſt of my days to the ſtudy of wiſdom. Selima was dead, my bonds were broken, I was no longer tied to any thing in nature; the whole earth appear'd to me a deſart; I could not reign in Lycia after the death of Selima, and I would not remain in a country where every thing continually renew'd the remembrance of my loſs. I return'd to the Indies, and went to live among the Brachmans, where I form'd a new plan of happineſs. Being freed from that ſlavery which always accompanies grandeur, I eſtabliſh'd within myſelf an empire over my paſſions and deſires, more glorious

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and satisfactory than the false lustre of royalty. But now notwithstanding my retreat and the distance I was at, my brother conceiv'd a jealousy of me, as if I had been ambitious of ascending the throne, and I was obliged once more to leave the Indies. My exile prov'd a new source of happiness to me; it depends upon ourselves to reap advantage from misfortunes. I visited the wise men of Asia, and conversed with the philosophers of different countries: I learn'd their laws and their religion, and was charm'd to find, That the great men of all times, and of all places, had the same ideas of the Divinity, and of morality. At last I came hither upon the banks of the Arosis, where the Magi have chosen me for their head.

Here Zoroaster ended; Cyrus and Cassandana were too much affected to be able to speak. After some moments of silence, the Philosopher discours'd to them of the happiness which faithful lovers enjoy in the empyreum when they meet again there; he then concluded with these wishes: May you long feel the happiness of mutual and undivided love! May the Gods preserve you from that depravity of heart which makes pleasures lose their relish when once they become lawful! May you, after the transports of a lively and pure passion in your younger years, experience in a more advanc'd age all the charms of that union which diminishes the pains of life, and augments its pleasures by sharing them! May a long and agreeable old age let you see your distant posterity multiplying the race of heroes upon earth! May at last one and the same day unite the ashes of both, to exempt you from the misfortune of bewailing like me the loss of what you love! My only comfort is the hope of seeing Zelima again in the sphere of fire, the pure element of love. Souls make acquaintance only here below; it is above that their union is consummated. O Selima, Selima, we shall

one day meet again, and our flame will be eternal; I know, that in thoſe ſuperior regions your happineſs will not be complete till I ſhall ſhare it with you; thoſe who have lov'd each other purely will love for ever; true love is immortal.

The hiſtory which Zoroaſter had given of his own life made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the Prince and Princeſs; it confirm'd them in their mutual tenderneſs, and in their love of virtue; they ſpent ſome time with the Sage in his ſolitude before they returned to the court of Cambyſes. It was during this retreat that Zoroaſter initiated Cyrus into all the myſteries of the Eaſtern wiſdom. The Chaldeans, the Egyptians and the Gymnoſophiſts had a wonderful knowledge of nature, but they wrapp'd it up in allegorical fables: And this doubtleſs is the reaſon that venerable antiquity has been reproach'd with ignorance in natural philoſophy. Zoroaſter laid open before Cyrus the ſecrets of nature, not merely to gratify his curioſity, but to make him obſerve the marks of an infinite wiſdom diffus'd throughout the univerſe, and thereby to guard his mind againſt irreligion.

One while he made him admire the ſtructure of the human body, the ſprings of which it is compos'd, and the liquors that flow in it; the canals, the pumps and the baſons which are form'd by the mere interweaving of the fibres, in order to ſeparate, purify, conduct and reconduct the liquids into all the extremities of the body; then the levers and the cords, form'd by the bones and muſcles, in order to the various motions of the members. It is thus, ſaid the Philoſopher, that our body is a ſurpriſing contexture of tubes, branch'd out into endleſs diviſions and ſubdiviſions, which have a communication with one another, while different and ſuitable liquors are inſinuated into them, and are there prepar'd according to the rules of the moſt exact mechaniſm.

chaniſm. An infinity of ſmall imperceptible ſprings, the conſtruction and motions of which we are ignorant of, are continually playing in our bodies; and it is therefore evident that nothing but a ſovereign intelligence could produce, adjuſt and preſerve ſo compounded, ſo delicate and ſo admirable a machine. The life of this machine depends on the freedom and amenity with which the liquids flow in the various canals; all our diſeaſes on the other hand proceed from the thickneſs of the liquids, which ſtopping in thoſe imperceptible veſſels choak them up, ſwell and relax them; or from the acrimony of the juices, which prick, disjoin and tear thoſe delicate fibres. Indolence occaſions the firſt, and intemperance the ſecond; for which reaſons the Perſian laws have wiſely enjoin'd ſobriety and exerciſe, as neceſſary to prevent the enfeebling both of the political and natural body.

At another time he explain'd to him the configuration of plants, and the transformation of inſects. They had not our optick glaſſes to magnify objects and bring them near; but the penetrating ſpirit of Zoroaſter ſaw farther than the eye can reach by their help; becauſe he was acquainted not only with all the experiments of the ancients and their traditions, but alſo with the occult [a] ſciences revealed by the Genii to the firſt men. Each ſeed, ſaid he, contains within it a plant of its own ſpecies, this plant another ſeed, and this ſeed another little plant, and ſo on without end. Theſe organic molds cannot be form'd by the ſimple laws of motion: They are the firſt production of the great Oromazes, who originally incloſed within each ſeed all the bodies to be derived from it. None but he alone could thus conceal innumerable wonders in a ſingle imperceptible atom. The growth of vegetables is but the unfolding

[a] *See Boerhaave Chem. p. 2. and 7.*

of the fibres, membranes and branches by the moisture of the earth, which in an admirable manner insinuates itself into them. Every plant has two sorts of pipes; the one fill'd with air are like lungs to it, the other fill'd with sap may be compar'd to arteries. In the day time the heat of the sun rarefies, swells and dilates the air contain'd in the first sort, so that they compress the other, and thereby break the particles of the sap, refine it and make it rise, in order to the production of leaves, flowers and fruits. The same air growing cool during the night is condens'd and contracted, and no longer presses upon the alimentary tubes; so that these being opened and dilated receive the moisture of the earth, pregnant with salts, sulphurs and minerals, which the pressure of the atmosphere forces in thro' the roots: It is thus that the plants feed in the night and digest in the day; the nutritive sap being distributed through all the branches at length perspires, and spurting out of their small delicate pipes with an incredible force, forms an infinite number of *jets d'eau*: These spouts meet, mix, cross one another, and perhaps serve for an entertainment of the aerial Genii, before whom the wonders of nature lie all unveil'd. One blade of grass presents more various and amazing objects to their view, than all the water-works in the inchanted gardens of the King of Babylon. If poets were philosophers, the bare description of nature would furnish them with more agreeable pictures than all their allegorical paintings; the poor resource of a hood-wink'd imagination, when reason does not lend it eyes to discern the beauty of the works of Oromazes. Zoroaster then shew'd the Prince the trees, plants and roots, the gums, bitters and aromaticks which help to dissolve, attenuate and liquify our juices when they grow too thick; to pound, blunt and absorb the humours when too sharp; to fortify, repair and give a new tention to the fibres

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when weaken'd, torn or relaxed. Heroes were in former times philoſophers, and conquerors were fond of knowing themſelves how to repair in part the miſchiefs occaſion'd by their battels and victories.

After this the Philoſopher gave Cyrus a view of the wonderful art diſcoverable in the formation of inſects. Their eggs, ſaid he, ſcattered in the air, upon the earth, and in the waters, meet in each with proper receptacles, and wait only for a favourable ray of the ſun to hatch them. Sometimes they are worms crawling upon the earth; then fiſhes ſwimming in liquors; and at laſt they get wings, and riſe into the air. Theſe almoſt inviſible machines have in each of them numberleſs ſprings at work, which furniſh and prepare liquors ſuited to their wants. What mechaniſm, what art, what freſh and endleſs proofs have we here of an infinite wiſdom which produces all!

At another time, the Sage carried the thoughts of Cyrus up into the higher regions, to contemplate the various phænomena which happen in the air. He explain'd to him the wonderful qualities of this ſubtile and inviſible fluid which encompaſſes the earth in order to compreſs all the parts of it, keep each of them in its proper place, and hinder them from diſuniting; how neceſſary it is to the life of animals, the growth of plants, the flying of birds, the forming of ſounds, and numberleſs other uſeful and important effects. This fluid, ſaid he, being agitated, heated, cooled again, compreſs'd, dilated, one while by the rays of the ſun, or the ſubterraneous fires, ſometimes by the ſalts and ſulphurs which float in it, at other times by nitres which fix and congeal it, ſometimes by clouds which compreſs it, and often by other cauſes which deſtroy the equilibrium of its parts, produces all ſorts of winds, the moſt impetuous of which ſerve to diſpel the

noxious vapours, and the ſofter breezes to temper the exceſſive heats. At other times the rays of the ſun, inſinuating themſelves into the little drops of dew which water the ſurface of the earth, rarefy them, and thereby make them lighter than the air; ſo that they aſcend into it, form vapours, and float there at different heights, according as they are more or leſs heavy. The ſun having drawn up theſe vapours loaded with ſulphur, minerals and different kinds of ſalts, they kindle in the air, put it into a commotion, and cauſe thunder and lightening. Other vapours that are lighter gather into clouds and float in the air; but when they become too heavy they fall in dews, ſhowers of rain, ſnow and hail, according as the air is more or leſs heated. Thoſe vapours which are daily drawn from the ſea, and carried in the air by the winds to the tops of mountains, fall there, ſoak into them, and meet in their inward cavities, where they increaſe and ſwell till they find a vent, or force a paſſage, and ſo become plenteous ſprings of refreſhing water. By theſe are form'd rivulets of which the ſmaller rivers are compos'd; and theſe latter again form the great rivers which return into the ſea to repair the loſs it had ſuffered by the ardent rays of the ſun. Thus it is that all the irregularities and intemperature of the elements which ſeem to deſtroy nature in one ſeaſon, ſerve to revive it in another: The immoderate heats of ſummer, and the exceſſive cold of winter, prepare the beauties of the ſpring, and the rich fruits of autumn. All theſe viciſſitudes, which ſeem to ſuperficial minds the effects of a fortuitous concourſe of irregular cauſes, are regulated according to weight and meaſure, by that ſovereign Wiſdom who weighs the earth as a grain of ſand, and the ſea as a drop of water.

Then Zoroaſter rais'd his thoughts to the ſtars, and explain'd to Cyrus how they all float in an active,

tive, uniform and infinitely subtile fluid, which fills and pervades all nature. This invisible matter, said he, does not act by the necessary law of a blind mechanism. It is, as it were, the [a] body of the great Oromazes whose soul is truth. By the one he acts upon all bodies, and by the other he enlightens all spirits. His vivifying presence gives activity to this pure æther, which becomes thereby the primary mechanical spring of all the motions in the heavens and upon the earth: It causes the fixed stars to turn upon their axes while it makes the planets circulate round those stars; it transmits with an incredible velocity the light of those heavenly bodies, as the air does sounds; and its vibrations as they are more or less quick produce the agreeable variety of colours, as those of the air do the melodious notes of musick. Lastly, the fluidity of liquids, the cohesion of solids, the gravitation, elasticity, attraction and fermentation of bodies, the sensation of animals, and the vegetation of plants come all from the action of this exceedingly subtile [b] SPIRIT which

[a] *Those who are unacquainted with the style of antiquity imagine that Zoroaster and Pythagoras make the Deity corporeal by this expression, and that it gave occasion to the error of the Stoicks, who believed the divine Essence an ethereal matter; but the contrary is evident by the definitions which those two philosophers give of the Divinity.* (*Disc. p.* 2. *and p.* 10, 11.) *It seems to me, that by the body of God, they mean nothing more than what Sir Isaac Newton expresses by these words; Deus ubique præsens voluntate suâ corpora omnia in infinito suo uniformi* SENSORIO *movet, adeóque cunctas mundi universi partes ad arbitrium suum fingit & refingit, multo magis quam anima nostra voluntate suâ ad corporis nostri membra movenda valet. Opt. p.* 411.

[b] *These are the very words of Sir Isaac Newton, Adjicere jam licet nonnulla de* SPIRITU *quodam* SUBTILISSIMO *corpora crassa pervadente, & in iisdem latente, cujus vi & actionibus particulæ corporum ad minimas distantias se mutuo* ATTRAHUNT, *& contiguæ factæ,* COHÆRENT, *& corpora* ELECTRICA *agunt ad distantias majores; &*

which diffuſes itſelf throughout all the immenſity of ſpace. The ſame ſimple cauſe produces numberleſs, and even contrary effects, yet without any confuſion in ſo infinite a variety of motions.

We are ſtruck with ſurprize, continued the Philoſopher, to ſee all the wonders of nature, which diſcover themſelves to our ſhort and feeble ſight; but how great would be our amazement, if we could tranſport ourſelves into thoſe ætherial ſpaces, and paſs through them with a rapid flight? Each ſtar would appear an atom in compariſon of the immenſity with which it is ſurrounded: What would our wonder be, if deſcending afterwards upon earth, we could accommodate our eyes to the minuteneſs of objects, and purſue the ſmalleſt grain of ſand thro' its infinite diviſibility? Each atom would appear a world, in which we ſhould doubtleſs diſcover new beauties. There is nothing great, nothing little in itſelf; both the GREAT and the LITTLE diſappear by turns to preſent every where an image of infinity through all the works of Oromazes. What a folly is it then to go about to explain the [c] original of things by the mere laws of matter and motion? The univerſe is the work of the great Oromazes; he preſerves and governs it by general laws, but

LUX emittitur, reflectitur, refringitur, inflectitur, & calefacit; & SENSATIO omnis excitatur, & MEMBRA ANIMALIUM ad voluntatem moventur. He never denied a ſubtile matter in this ſenſe, and it is in this ſenſe that I always underſtand it. See Diſc. p. 14.

[c] *Philoſophiæ naturalis id reverà præcipuum eſt & officium & finis ut ex phænomenis ſine fictis hypotheſibus arguamus, & ab effectis ratiocinatione progrediamur ad cauſas, donec ad ipſam demum perveniamus cauſam primam, quæ ſine omni dubio mechanica non eſt.... atque his quidem ritè expeditis, ex phænomenis conſtabit eſſe Entem incorporeum viventem, intelligentem omnipræſentem qui in ſpatio infinito tanquam Senſorio ſuo res ipſas intimè cernat, penitùs perſpiciat, totaſque intra ſe præſentes complectatur. Newt. Opt. p. 273.*

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these laws are free, arbitrary, and even diversify'd in the different regions of immensity, according to the effects he wou'd there produce, and the various relations he would establish between bodies and spirits. It is from him that every thing flows; it is in him that every thing exists; it is by him that every thing lives; and to him alone should all things be refer'd. Without him all nature is an inexplicable ænigma; with him the mind conceives every thing possible, even at the same time that it is sensible of its own ignorance and narrow limits.

Cyrus was charmed with this instruction; new worlds seem'd to be unveil'd before him; where have I liv'd, said he, till now? The simplest objects contain wonders which escape my sight: Every thing bears the mark of an infinite wisdom and power. The great Oromazes, ever present to his work, gives to all bodies their forms and their motions, to all spirits their reason and their virtues: He beholds them all in his immensity; he governs them, not by any necessary laws of mechanism; he makes and he changes the laws by which he rules them, as it best suits with the designs of his justice and goodness.

While Cyrus was thus entertained with the conversation of Zoroaster, Cassandana assisted, with the wives of the Magi, in celebrating the festival of the Goddess Mythra. The ancient Persians adored but one sole supreme Deity, but they consider'd the God Mythras and the Goddess Mythra, sometimes as two emanations from his substance, and at other times as the first productions of his power. Every day was sacred to the great Oromazes, because he was never to be forgotten: But the festival of the Goddess Mythra was observed only towards the end of the spring, and that of Mythras about the beginning of autumn. During the first, which lasted ten days, the women performed all the priestly functions,

functions, and the men did not assist at it; as on the other hand the women were not admitted to the celebration of the last. This separation of the two sexes was thought necessary, in order to preserve the soul from all imaginations which might profane its joys in these solemn festivals.

The ancient Persians had neither temples nor altars; they sacrificed upon high mountains and eminences; nor did they use libations, or music, or hallow'd bread. Zoroaster had made no change in the old rites, except by the introduction of music into divine worship. At break of day all the wives of the Magi being crowned with myrtle and cloath'd in long white robes, walk'd two and two with a slow grave pace to the mount of Mythra; they were follow'd by their daughters clad in fine linen and leading the victims adorned with wreaths of all colours. The summit of the hill was a plain covered with a sacred wood; several vistas were cut thro' it, and all center'd in a great circus, which had been turned into a delightful garden. In the middle of this garden there sprang a fountain, whose compliant waters took all the forms which art was pleased to give them. After many windings and turnings these chrystal streams crept on to the declivity of the hill, and there falling down in a rapid torrent from rock to rock froth'd and foam'd, and at length lost themselves in a deep river which ran at the foot of the sacred mount.

When the procession arrived at the place of sacrifice two sheep white as snow were led to the brink of the fountain; and while the priests offered the victims the choir of women struck their lyres, and the young virgins joined their voices singing this sacred hymn. 'Oromazes is the first 'of incorruptible natures, eternal, unbegotten, self-'sufficient, of all that's excellent most excellent, the 'wisest of all intelligences; he beheld himself in

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'the mirror of his own ſubſtance, and by that view 'produced the Goddeſs Mythra, Mythra the living 'image of his beauty, the original mother and the 'immortal virgin; ſhe preſented him the ideas of 'all things, and he gave them to the God Mythras 'to form a world reſembling thoſe ideas. Let us 'celebrate the wiſdom of Mythra, let us do her 'homage by our purity and our virtues, rather than 'by our ſongs and praiſes.' During this act of adoration, three times the muſic paus'd, to denote by a profound ſilence that the divine Nature tranſcends whatever our words can expreſs. The hymn being ended, the prieſteſs lighted by the rays of the ſun a fire of odoriferous wood, and while ſhe there conſumed the hearts of the ſheep, ſang alone with a loud voice, 'Mythra deſires only the ſoul of the 'victim.' Then the remainder of the ſacrifice was dreſt for a public feaſt, of which they all ate ſitting on the brink of the ſacred fountain, where they quench'd their thirſt. During the repaſt twelve young virgins ſang the ſweets of friendſhip, the charms of virtue, the peace, innocence and ſimplicity of a rural life.

After this regale the mothers and daughters all aſſembled upon a large green plot encompaſs'd with lofty trees whoſe ſhady tops and leavy branches were a defence againſt the ſcorching heat of the ſun and the blaſts of the North wind: Here they diverted themſelves with dancing, running and concerts of muſic. Then they repreſented the exploits of heroes, the virtues of heroines, and the pure pleaſures of the primæval ſtate before Arimanius invaded the empire of Oromazes, and inſpired mortals with deceitful hopes, falſe joys, perfidious diſguſts, credulous ſuſpicions, and the inhuman extravagancies of prophane love. Theſe ſports being over, they diſperſed themſelves about the garden, and by way of refreſhment bath'd themſelves in the waters.

waters. Towards ſun-ſet they deſcended the hill and join'd the Magi, who led them to the mountain of Oromazes, there to perform the evening ſacrifice; the victims which were offered ſerved every family for ſupper (for they had two repaſts on feſtival days) and they chearfully paſt the time till ſleepineſs call'd them to reſt.

It was in this manner that Caſſandana amus'd her ſelf, while Zoroaſter was diſcovering to Cyrus all the beauties of the univerſe, and thereby preparing his mind for matters of a more exalted nature, the doctrines of religion. The Philoſopher at length conducted the Prince with Hyſtaſpes and Araſpes into a gloomy and ſolitary foreſt, where perpetual ſilence reigned, and where the attention could not be diverted by any ſenſible object, and then ſaid: It is not to enjoy the pleaſures of ſolitude that we thus forſake the ſociety of men; to retire from the world in that view would be only to gratify a trifling indolence, unworthy the character of wiſdom: But the aim of the Magi in this retreat is to diſengage themſelves from matter, riſe to the contemplation of cœleſtial things, and commence an intercourſe with the pure ſpirits, who diſcover to them all the ſecrets of nature. When mortals have gain'd a complete victory over all the paſſions they are thus favour'd by the great Oromazes: It is however but a very ſmall number of the moſt purify'd ſages who have enjoy'd this privilege. Impoſe ſilence upon your ſenſes, raiſe your mind above all viſible objects, and liſten to what the Gymnoſophiſts have learn'd by their commerce with the Genii. Here he was ſilent for ſome time, ſeem'd to collect himſelf inwardly, and then continu'd.

In the ſpaces of the empyreum a pure and divine fire expands itſelf; by means of which, not only bodies but ſpirits become viſible. [d] In the midſt of

[d] *See the Diſc. p.* 21, 22.

this

this immenſity is the great Oromazes, firſt principle of all things. He diffuſes himſelf every where; but it is there that he is manifeſted after a more glorious manner. Near him ſeated the God Mythras, or the ſecond [e] Spirit, and under him Pſyché, or the Goddeſs Mythra: around their throne in the firſt rank are the Jyngas, the moſt ſublime intelligences; in the lower ſpheres are an endleſs number of Genii of all the different orders.

Arimanius chief of the Jyngas aſpir'd to an equality with the God Mythras, and by his eloquence perſuaded all the ſpirits of his order to diſturb the univerſal harmony, and the peace of the heavenly monarchy. How exalted ſoever the Genii are, they are always finite, and conſequently may be dazzled and deceived. Now the love of one's own excellence is the moſt delicate and moſt imperceptible kind of deluſion. To prevent the other Genii from falling into the like crime, and to puniſh thoſe audacious ſpirits, Oromazes only withdrew his rays, and immediately the ſphere of Arimanius became a chaos and a perpetual night, in which diſcord, hatred, confuſion, anarchy and force alone prevail. Thoſe etherial ſubſtances would have eternally tormented themſelves, if Oromazes had not mitigated their miſeries; he is never cruel in his puniſhments, nor acts from a motive of revenge, for it is unworthy of his nature; he had compaſſion on their condition, and lent Mythras his power to diſſipate the chaos. Immediately the mingled and jarring atoms were ſeparated, the elements diſintangled and rang'd in order. In the midſt of the abyſs was amaſs'd together an ocean of fire, which we now

[e] Νὲς δεύτερος, *'tis thus that Mythras is called in the oracles which paſs under Zoroaſter's name. Doubtleſs they are not genuine; but they contain the moſt ancient traditions, and the ſtyle of the Eaſtern theology, according to Pſellus, Plethо, Plotinus and all the Platoniſts of the third century.*

call

call the sun; its brightness is but obscurity, when compar'd with that pure æther which illuminates the empyreum. Seven globes of an opaque substance roll about this flaming centre, to borrow its light. The seven Genii, who were the chief ministers and companions of Arimanius, together with all the inferior spirits of his order, became the inhabitants of these new worlds, which the Greeks call Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, and the Earth. The slothful, gloomy and malicious Genii, who love solitude and darkness, hate society, and for ever pine in a fastidious discontent, retir'd into Saturn. From hence flow all black and mischievous projects, perfidious treasons, and murderous devices. In Jupiter dwell the impious and learned Genii, who broach monstrous errors, and endeavour to persuade men that the universe is not govern'd by an eternal wisdom; that the great Oromazes is not a luminous principle, but a blind nature, which by a continual agitation within itself produces an eternal revolution of forms. In Mars are the Genii who are enemies of peace, and blow up every where the fire of discord, inhuman vengeance, implacable anger, distracted ambition, false heroism, insatiable of conquering what it cannot govern, furious dispute which seeks dominion over the understanding, would oppress where it cannot convince, and is more cruel in its transports than all the other vices. Venus is inhabited by the impure Genii, whose affected graces and unbridled appetites are without taste, friendship, noble or tender sentiments, or any other view than the enjoyment of pleasures which engender the most fatal calamities. In Mercury are the weak minds, ever in uncertainty, who believe without reason, and doubt without reason; the enthusiasts and the free-thinkers, whose credulity and incredulity proceed equally from a disorder'd imagination:

It

It dazzles the ſight of ſome, ſo that they ſee that which is not; and it blinds others in ſuch a manner, that they ſee not that which is. In the moon dwell the humourſome, fantaſtick and capricious Genii, who will and will not, who hate at one time what they loved exceſſively at another; and who by a falſe delicacy of ſelf-love are ever diſtruſtful of themſelves and of their beſt friends.

All theſe Genii regulate the influence of the ſtars. They are ſubject to the Magi, whoſe call they obey, and diſcover to them all the ſecrets of nature. Theſe ſpirits had all been voluntary accomplices of Arimanius's crime. There yet remain'd a number of all the ſeveral kinds who had been carry'd away through weakneſs, inadvertency, levity and (if I may venture ſo to ſpeak) friendſhip for their companions. Of all the Genii theſe were of the moſt limited capacities, and conſequently the leaſt criminal. Oromazes had compaſſion on them, and made them deſcend into mortal bodies; they retain no remembrance of their former ſtate, or of their ancient happineſs; it is from this number of Genii that the earth is peopled, and it is hence that we ſee here minds of all characters. The God Mythras is inceſſantly employ'd to cure, purify and exalt them, that they may be capable of their firſt felicity. Thoſe who follow virtue fly away after death into the empyreum, where they are re-united to their origin. Thoſe who debaſe themſelves by vice, ſink deeper and deeper into matter, fall ſucceſſively into the bodies of the meaneſt animals, and run through a perpetual circle of new forms, till they are purged of their crimes by the pains which they undergo. The evil Principle will confound every thing for nine thouſand years; but at length there will come a time, fix'd by deſtiny, when Arimanius will be totally deſtroy'd and exterminated; the earth will change its form, univerſal harmony will be reſtor'd,

and

and men will live happy without any bodily want. Until that time Oromazes repoſes himſelf, and Mythras combats; this interval ſeems long to mortals, but, to a God, it is only as a moment of ſleep.

Cyrus was ſeiz'd with aſtoniſhment at the hearing of theſe ſublime things, and turning to Araſpes ſaid to him: What we have been taught hitherto of Oromazes, Mythras and Arimanius, of the contention between the good and the evil Principle, of the revolutions which have happen'd in the higher ſpheres, and of ſouls precipitated into mortal bodies, was mix'd with ſo many abſurd fictions, and wrapp'd up in ſuch impenetrable obſcurity, that we look'd upon thoſe doctrines as vulgar and contemptible notions unworthy of the eternal Being. I ſee now that we confounded the abuſes of thoſe principles with the principles themſelves, and that a contempt for religion can proceed only from ignorance. All flows out from the Deity and all muſt be abſorbed in him again. I am then a ray of light emitted from its principle, and I am to return to it. O Zoroaſter, you put within me a new and inexhauſtible ſource of pleaſures; adverſities may hereafter diſtreſs me, but they will never overwhelm me; all the misfortunes of life will appear to me as tranſient dreams; all human grandeur vaniſhes; I ſee nothing great but to imitate the immortals, that I may enter again after death into their ſociety. O my father, tell me by what way it is that heroes re-aſcend to the empyreum. How joyful am I, reply'd Zoroaſter, to ſee you reliſh theſe truths; you will one day have need of them. Princes are oftentimes ſurrounded by impious and profane men, who reject every thing that would be a reſtraint upon their paſſions; they will endeavour to make you doubt of eternal Providence, from the miſeries and diſorders which happen here below;

below; they know not that the whole earth is but a single wheel of the great machine; their view is confin'd to a small circle of objects, and they see nothing beyond it, yet they will dispute and pronounce upon every thing; they judge of nature and of its author like a man born in a deep cavern who has never seen the beauties of the universe, nor even the objects that are about him, but by the faint light of a dim taper. Yes, Cyrus. the harmony of the universe will be one day restor'd, and you are destin'd to that sublime state of immortality; but you can rise to it only by virtue; and the great virtue for a Prince is to make other men happy.

These discourses of Zoroaster made a strong impression on the mind of Cyrus; he would have staid much longer with the Magi in their solitude, if his duty had not call'd him back to his father's court. Scarce was he return'd thither when every body perceived a wonderful change in his discourse and behaviour. His conversation with the Archimagus had stifled his rising prejudices against religion. He gradually remov'd from about him all the young Satrapes who were fond of the principles of impiety. Upon looking nearly into their characters he discover'd not only that their hearts were corrupt, void of all noble and generous sentiments, and incapable of friendship; but that they were men of very superficial understandings, full of levity and little qualify'd for business. He then apply'd himself chiefly to the study of the laws and of politicks; the other sciences were but little cultivated in Persia. A sad misfortune oblig'd him at length to leave his country and travel: Cassandana died, though in the flower of her age, after she had brought him two sons and two daughters.

None

None but those who have experienc'd the force of true love, founded upon virtue, can imagine the disconsolate condition of Cyrus. In losing Cassandana, he lost all. Taste, reason, pleasure and duty had all united to augment his passion for her: In loving her he had experienc'd all the charms of love, without knowing either its pains, or the disgusts with which it is often attended; he felt the greatness of his loss, and refused all consolation. It is not the sudden revolutions in states, nor the heaviest strokes of adverse fortune, which oppress the minds of heroes; noble and generous souls are little mov'd by any misfortunes but what concern the objects of their softer passions. Cyrus at first gave himself wholly up to grief, not to be alleviated by weeping or complaining; this silent sorrow was at length succeeded by a torrent of tears. Mandana and Araspes, who never left him, endeavour'd to comfort him no other way than by weeping with him. Reasoning and persuasion furnish no cure for grief; nor can friendship yield relief in affliction but by sharing it. After he had long continu'd in this dejection, he return'd to see Zoroaster, who had formerly suffer'd a misfortune of the same kind. The conversation of that great man contributed much to mollify the anguish of his mind; but it was only by degrees that he recovered himself, and not till he had travell'd for some years.

THE

THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

THIRD BOOK.

THE empire of the Medes was at this time in a profound peace. Cambyſes being ſenſible of the danger to which he muſt expoſe his ſon, ſhould he ſend him again to the court of Ecbatan, and thinking that Cyrus could not better employ the preſent ſeaſon of tranquillity, than in travelling to learn the manners, laws and religions of other nations, he ſent for him one day, and ſaid to him: You are deſtin'd by the great Oromazes to ſtretch your conqueſts over all Aſia; you ought to put yourſelf into a condition to make thoſe nations happy by your wiſdom, which you ſhall ſubdue by your valour. I deſign therefore that you ſhall travel into Egypt which is the mother of the ſciences, paſs thence into Greece where are many famous republicks, go afterwards into Crete to ſtudy the laws of Minos, and return at laſt by Babylon, that ſo you may bring back into your own country all the kinds of knowledge neceſſary to poliſh the minds of your ſubjects, and to make you capable of accompliſhing your high deſtiny. Your ſtay in this place ſerves only to nouriſh your grief; every object here quickens the melancholy remembrance

brance of your loſs. Go, my ſon, go ſee and ſtudy human nature under all its different forms; this little corner of the earth, which we call our country, is too ſmall and imperfect a picture to form thereby a true and adequate judgment of mankind.

Cyrus obeyed his father's orders, and very ſoon left Perſia, accompany'd by his friend Araſpes. Two faithful ſlaves were all his attendants, for he deſir'd to travel unknown. He went down the river Agradatus, embark'd upon the Perſian gulf, and ſoon arrived at the port of Gerra, upon the coaſt of Arabia Felix. Thence he continued his way towards the city of [f] Macoraba. The ſerenity of the ſky, the mildneſs of the climate, the perfumes which embalm'd the air, the variety, fruitfulneſs and ſmiling appearance of nature in every part, charm'd all his ſenſes. While Cyrus was unweariedly admiring the beauties of the country, he ſaw a man walking with a grave and ſlow pace, and who ſeem'd bury'd in ſome profound thought. He was already come near the Prince, without having perceiv'd him. Cyrus interrupted his meditation to ask him the way to Badeo, where he was to embark for Egypt.

Amenophis (for that was his name) ſaluted the travellers with great civility, and having repreſented to them, that the day was too far ſpent to continue their journey, hoſpitably invited them to his rural habitation. He led them through a by-way to a little hill not far off, where he had form'd with his own hands ſeveral ruſtick grotto's. A ſpring, which roſe in the ſide of the hill, water'd with its ſtream a little garden at ſome diſtance, and form'd a rivulet, whoſe ſweet murmur was the only noiſe that

[f] *The preſent Mecca, a place which has ever been eſteemed holy by the Arabians.*

was

was heard in this abode of peace and tranquillity. Amenophis set before his guests some dry'd fruits of all sorts, the clear water of the spring serving them for drink, and he entertain'd them with agreeable conversation during their repast. An unaffected and serene joy dwelt upon his countenance; his discourse was full of good sense, and of noble sentiments, and he had all the politeness of a man educated at the courts of Kings. Cyrus observing this was curious to know the cause of his retirement; and in order to engage Amenophis to the greater freedom, he discover'd to him who he was, and the design of his travels; he then intimated to him his desire, but with that modest respect which one ought to have for the secret of a stranger. Amenophis understanding that his guest was the Prince of Persia, immediately conceiv'd hopes of improving this acquaintance to the advantage of his master, Apries King of Egypt; he made no delay therefore to satisfy the Prince's curiosity, and endeavour'd to move him by the history of his life and misfortunes, which he related in the following manner.

Though the family from which I am descended be one of the ancientest in Egypt, nevertheless by the sad vicissitude of human things our branch of it fell into great poverty. My father liv'd near Diospolis, a city of Upper-Egypt, and cultivated his little paternal farm with his own hands; he bred me up to relish true pleasures in the simplicity of a country life, to place my happiness in the study of wisdom, and to make agriculture, hunting and the liberal arts my sweetest occupations. It was the custom of King Apries, from time to time to make a progress through the different provinces of his kingdom. One day as he pass'd through a forest near the place where I liv'd, he perceiv'd me under the shade of a palm-tree, where I was reading the sacred books of Hermes. I was then but

sixteen years of age; my youth and something in my air drew the King's attention; he came up to me, ask'd me my name, my condition and what I was reading; being pleased with my answers, and having my father's consent he order'd me to be conducted to his court, where he neglected nothing in my education. The liking which Apries had for me changed by degrees into a confidence, which seemed to augment in proportion as I advanced in years; and my heart was full of affection and gratitude. Being young, and without experience, I thought that Princes were capable of friendship; and I did not know that the Gods have refus'd them that sweet consolation.

After having attended him in his wars against the Sidonians and Cyprians, I became his only favourite; he communicated to me the most important secrets of the state, and honour'd me with the chief posts about his person. I never lost the remembrance of that obscurity from whence the King had drawn me: I did not forget that I had been poor, and I was afraid of being rich. Thus I preserv'd my integrity in the midst of grandeur, and I went from time to time to see my father in Upper-Egypt, of which I was governor. I visited with pleasure the grove where Apries had found me: Blest solitude, said I within myself, where I first learn'd the maxims of true wisdom! How unhappy shall I be, if I forget the innocence and simplicity of my first years, when I felt no mistaken desires, and was unacquainted with the objects that excite them. I was often tempted to quit the court, and stay in this charming solitude; it was doubtless a pre-sentiment of what was to happen to me, for Apries soon after suspected my fidelity.

[a] Amasis, who ow'd me his fortune, endeavoured

[a] *See Herodotus, lib. 1, and 2.*

to

to inſpire him with this diſtruſt; he was a man of mean birth, but great bravery; he had all ſorts of talents, both natural and acquir'd, but the hidden ſentiments of his heart were corrupt: When a man has wit and parts, and eſteems nothing ſacred, it is eaſy for him to gain the favour of princes. Suſpicion was far from my heart; I had no diſtruſt of a man whom I had loaded with benefits; and the more eaſily to betray me, he conceal'd himſelf under the veil of a profound diſſimulation. Tho' I could not reliſh groſs flattery, I was not inſenſible to delicate praiſe; Amaſis ſoon perceiv'd my weakneſs, and artfully made his advantage of it; he affected a candour, a nobleneſs of ſoul, and a diſintereſtedneſs which charm'd me; in a word, he gain'd my confidence to ſuch a degree, that he was to me the ſame that I was to the King. I preſented him to Apries, as a man very capable of ſerving him; and it was not long before he was allow'd a free acceſs to the Prince.

The King had great qualities, but he would govern by his arbitrary will; he had already freed himſelf from all ſubjection to the laws, and hearken'd no longer to the council of the thirty judges. My love for truth would not always ſuffer me to follow the rules of ſtrict prudence, and my attachment to the King led me often to ſpeak to him in too ſtrong terms, and with too little management. I perceiv'd by degrees his coldneſs to me, and the confidence he was beginning to have in Amaſis. Far from being alarm'd at it, I rejoiced at the riſe of a man, whom I thought not only my friend, but zealous for the public good. Amaſis often ſaid to me, with a ſeemingly ſincere concern; I can taſte no pleaſure in the Prince's favour ſince you are depriv'd of it. No matter, anſwer'd I, who does the good, provided it be done.

About this time all the principal cities of Upper-Egypt addreſs'd their complaints to me upon the ex-

traordinary subsidies which the King exacted; and I wrote circular letters to pacify the people. Amasis caus'd these letters to be intercepted, and counterfeiting exactly my hand-writing, sent others in my name to the inhabitants of Diospolis, my native city, in which he told them, That if I could not gain the King by persuasion, I would put myself at their head, and oblige him to treat them with more humanity. These people were naturally inclined to rebellion; and believing that I was the author of those letters, imagin'd they were in a secret treaty with me. Amasis carried on this correspondence in my name for several months. At length, thinking that he had sufficient proofs, he went and threw himself at the Prince's feet, laid open to him the pretended conspiracy, and shew'd him the forg'd letters.

I was immediately arrested, and put into a close prison; the day was fix'd when I was to be executed in a public manner. Amasis came to see me; at first he seem'd doubtful and uncertain what he should think, suspended in his judgment by the knowledge he had of my virtue, yet shaken by the evidence of the proofs, and much affected with my misfortune. After having discours'd with him some time, he seem'd convinc'd of my innocence, promis'd me to speak to the Prince, and to endeavour to discover the authors of the treachery. The more effectually to accomplish his black designs, he went to the King, and by faintly endeavouring to engage him to pardon me, made him believe that he acted more from gratitude and compassion for a man to whom he ow'd all, than from a conviction of my innocence. Thus he artfully confirm'd him in the persuasion of my being criminal; and the King being naturally suspicious was inexorable.

The report of my perfidiousness being spread throughout all Egypt, the people of the different provinces flock'd to Sais, to see the tragical spectacle which

which was preparing; but when the fatal day came, several of my friends appear'd at the head of a numerous crowd, and deliver'd me by force from the death which was ordain'd me; the King's troops made some resistance at first, but the multitude increas'd, and declar'd for me. It was then in my power to have caus'd the same revolution which Amasis has done since; nevertheless I made no other use of this happy conjuncture, than to justify myself to Apries. I sent one of my deliverers to assure him, that his injustice did not make me forget my duty; and that my only design was to convince him of my innocence. He order'd me to come to him at his palace; which I might safely do, the people being under arms, and surrounding it. I found Amasis with him: This perfidious man, continuing his dissimulation, ran to meet me with eagerness, and presenting me to the King: How joyful am I, said he to him, to see, that the conduct of Amenophis leaves you no room to doubt of his fidelity! I see very well, answered Apries coldly, that he does not aspire to the throne, and I forgive him his desire of bounding my authority, in order to please his countrymen. I answer'd the King, that I was innocent of the crime imputed to me, and was ignorant of the author of it. Amasis then endeavoured to make the suspicion fall upon the King's best friends, and most faithful servants. I perceiv'd that the Prince's mind was not cur'd of his distrust, and therefore to prevent any new accusations, having first persuaded the people to disperse themselves, I retir'd from court, and return'd to my former solitude, whither I carried nothing back but my innocence and poverty. Apries sent troops to Diospolis, to prevent an insurrection there, and order'd that my conduct should be observ'd. Doubtless he imagin'd, that I should never be able to confine myself to a quiet and retir'd life, after having been in the highest employments.

In the mean while Amasis gain'd an absolute ascendant over the King's mind; this favourite made him suspect and banish his best friends, in order to remove from about the throne those who might hinder the usurpation which he was projecting. An occasion very soon offer'd to put his wicked designs in execution.

[a] The Cyrenians, a colony of Greeks who were settled in Africa, having taken from the Lybians a great part of their lands, the latter submitted themselves to Apries, in order to obtain his protection. The King of Egypt sent a great army into Lybia, to make war against the Cyrenians. This army, in which were many of those malecontents whom Amasis was sollicitous to remove from court, being cut in pieces, the Egyptians imagin'd that the King had sent it thither only to be destroy'd, that he might reign the more despotically. This thought provok'd them, and a league was form'd in Lower-Egypt, which rose up in Arms. The King sent Amasis to them to quiet them, and make them return to their duty; and then it was that the designs of this perfidious minister broke out. Instead of pacifying them, he incensed them more and more, put himself at their head, and was proclaim'd King. The revolt became universal; Apries was oblig'd to leave Sais, and make his escape into Upper-Egypt. He retir'd to Diospolis, where I prevail'd upon the inhabitants to forget the injustices he had done them, and to succour him in his misfortunes. All the time that he continued there, I had free access to his person; but I carefully avoided saying any thing which might recall to his mind the disgraces he had made me undergo.

Apries soon fell into a deep melancholy; that haughty spirit, which had been so vain as to imagine

[a] *See Herodotus, lib.* 1. *and* 2.

it

it was not in the power of the Gods themſelves to dethrone him, could not ſupport adverſity; that Prince, ſo renown'd for his bravery, had not true fortitude of ſoul; he had a thouſand and a thouſand times deſpis'd death, but he could not contemn fortune. I endeavour'd to calm and ſupport his mind, and to remove from it thoſe melancholy ideas which overwhelm'd him. I frequently read to him the books of Hermes; he was particularly ſtruck with that famous paſſage: 'When the great Oſiris loves 'Princes, he pours into the cup of fate a mixture 'of good and ill, that they may not forget that they 'are men.' Theſe reflections alleviated by degrees his vexations; and I felt an unſpeakable pleaſure in ſeeing that he began to reliſh virtue, and that it gave him inward peace in the midſt of his misfortunes. He then applied himſelf with vigour courage, to get out of the unhappy ſituation into which he was fallen. He got together all his faithful ſubjects who had follow'd him in his exile; and theſe being join'd by the inhabitants of the country whom I engag'd in his ſervice, form'd an army of fifteen thouſand men. We march'd againſt the uſurper, and gave him battel near Memphis; but being overpowered by the enemies numbers, we were intirely defeated. Apries eſcaped to the mountains of Upper-Egypt, with the remains of his ſhatter'd troops; but as for me I was taken with a crowd of other priſoners, and without being known confin'd in a high tower at Memphis. When Amaſis had put garriſons in all the cities of Upper-Egypt, and had given directions to guard the paſſes into the mountains, in order to ſhut up Apries there, and deſtroy him by famine, he returned in triumph to Sais.

The uſurper, by the favour and protection of Nabuchodonoſor King of Babylon, was ſoon after ſolemnly crown'd, but on condition that Egypt ſhould be tributary to that conqueror. Scarce were the

people quieted, when they gave way to that inconſtancy which is natural to the multitude; they began to deſpiſe the new King for his mean birth, and to murmur againſt him: But this able politician ſucceſsfully made uſe of his addreſs to pacify them and prevent a revolt. The Kings of Egypt were wont to invite their courtiers to ſolemn feaſts, and on theſe occaſions the gueſts waſhed their hands with the King in a golden ciſtern kept always for that uſe; Amaſis caus'd this ciſtern to be made into a ſtatue of Serapis, and expos'd it to be worſhip'd; he was overjoy'd to ſee with what eagerneſs the people ran from all parts to pay their homage to it, and having aſſembled the Egyptians, harangued them in the following manner: Hearken to me countrymen; this ſtatue which you now worſhip ſerv'd you heretofore for the meaneſt uſes; thus it is that all depends upon your choice and opinion; all authority reſides originally in the people; you are the abſolute arbiters of religion and of royalty, and create both your Gods and your Kings: I ſet you free from the idle fears both of the one and of the other, by letting you know your juſt rights; all men are born equal, it is your will alone which makes a diſtinction; when you are pleaſed to raiſe any one to the higheſt rank, he ought not to continue in it but becauſe it is your pleaſure, and ſo long only as you think fit: I hold my authority from you alone; you may take it back and give it to another who will make you more happy than I; ſhew me that man, and I ſhall immediately deſcend from the throne, and with pleaſure mix among the multitude.

Amaſis, by this impious harangue, which flatter'd the people, ſolidly eſtabliſh'd his own authority; they conjur'd him to remain upon the throne, and he ſeem'd to conſent to it as doing them a favour: He is ador'd by the Egyptians, whom he governs with mildneſs and moderation; good policy requires it, and his ambi-

ambition is satisfy'd. He lives at Sais in a splendor which dazzles those who approach him; nothing seems wanting to his happiness: But I am assur'd, that inwardly he is far different from what he appears outwardly; he thinks that every man about him is like himself, and would betray him as he betray'd his master; these continual distrusts hinder him from enjoying the fruit of his crime, and it is thus that the Gods punish him for his usurpation: Cruel remorses rend his heart, and dark gloomy cares hang upon his brow; the anger of the great Osiris pursues him every where; the splendor of royalty cannot make him happy, because he never tastes either peace of mind, or that generous confidence in the friendship of men, which is the sweetest charm of life.

Amenophis was going on with his story, when Cyrus interrupted it, to ask him how Amasis could get such an ascendant over the mind of Apries? The King, reply'd Amenophis, wanted neither talents nor virtues; but he did not love to be contradicted; even when he order'd his ministers to tell him the truth, he never forgave those who obey'd him; he lov'd flattery while he affected to hate it: Amasis perceiv'd this weakness, and manag'd it with art. When Apries made any difficulty of giving into the despotic maxims which that perfidious minister would have inspired him with, he insinuated to the King, that the multitude being incapable of reasoning, ought to be govern'd by absolute authority; and that Princes being the vice-gerents of the Gods, may act like them, without giving a reason of their conduct: He season'd his counsels with so many seeming principles of virtue, and such delicate praise, that the Prince being seduced made himself hated by his subjects without perceiving it.

Here Cyrus, touch'd with this melancholy account of an unfortunate King, could not forbear saying to Amenophis: Methinks Apries is more to be pitied

than blam'd; how ſhould Princes be able to diſcover treachery, when it is conceal'd with ſo much art? The happineſs of the people, anſwer'd Amenophis, makes the happineſs of the Prince; their true intereſts are neceſſarily united, whatever pains are taken to ſeparate them. Whoſoever attempts to inſpire Princes with contrary maxims, ought to be look'd upon as an enemy of the ſtate. Moreover, Kings ought always to be apprehenſive of a man who never contradicts them, and who tells them only ſuch truths as are agreeable: There needs no further proof of the corruption of a miniſter, than to ſee him prefer his maſter's favour to his glory. In ſhort, a Prince ſhould know how to make advantage of his miniſters talents, but he ought never to follow their counſels blindly; he may lend himſelf to men, but not yield himſelf up abſolutely to them.

Ah! how unhappy, cry'd out Cyrus, is the condition of Kings! you ſay they muſt only lend themſelves to men, they muſt not give themſelves up without reſerve to them; they will never then be acquainted with the charms of friendſhip: How much is my ſituation to be lamented, if the ſplendor of royalty be incompatible with the greateſt of all felicities? When a Prince, reply'd Amenophis, whom nature has endow'd with amiable qualities, does not forget that he is a man, he may find friends who will not forget that he is a King: But even then, he ought never to be influenc'd by perſonal inclination in affairs of ſtate. As a private man, he may enjoy the pleaſures of a tender friendſhip, but as a Prince, he muſt reſemble the immortals who have no paſſion.

After theſe reflections, Amenophis, at the requeſt of Cyrus, continued his ſtory in the following manner. I was forgotten for ſome years in my priſon at Memphis. My confinement was ſo cloſe, that I had neither the converſation nor the ſight of any perſon; being thus left in ſolitude, and without the leaſt

leaſt comfort, I ſuffer'd the cruel torments of tireſome lonelineſs. Man finds nothing within himſelf but a frightful void, which renders him utterly diſconſolate; his happineſs proceeds only from thoſe amuſements which hinder him from feeling his natural inſufficiency. I ardently deſir'd death, but I reſpected the Gods, and durſt not procure it myſelf; becauſe I was perſuaded, that thoſe who gave me life had the ſole right to take it away.

One day, when I was overwhelm'd with the moſt melancholy reflections, I heard of a ſudden a noiſe, as if ſomebody was breaking a way thro' the wall of my priſon. It was a man who endeavour'd to make his eſcape; and in a few days he had made the hole wide enough to get into my chamber. This priſoner, though a ſtranger, ſpoke the Egyptian tongue perfectly well; he inform'd me, that he was of Tyre, his name Arobal, that he had ſerv'd in Apries's army, and had been taken priſoner at the ſame time with me. I never ſaw a man of a more eaſy, witty, and agreeable converſation; he deliver'd himſelf with ſpirit, delicacy and gracefulneſs. When he repeated the ſame things, there was always ſomething new and charming in the manner. We related to each other our adventures and misfortunes. The pleaſure which I found in the converſation of this ſtranger made me forget the loſs of my liberty, and I ſoon contracted an intimate friendſhip with him. At length we were both brought out of priſon, but it was only to undergo new ſufferings; for we were condemn'd to the mines: And now we had no longer any hopes of freedom but in death. Friendſhip however ſoften'd our miſeries, and we preſerv'd courage enough to create ourſelves amuſements, even in the midſt of misfortunes, by obſerving the wonders hidden in the bowels of the earth.

The [a] mines are of a prodigious depth and extent, and are inhabited by a kind of ſubterraneous republick, whoſe members never ſee the day. They have nevertheleſs their polity, laws, government, families, houſes and high ways, horſes to aſſiſt them in their labours, and cattle to feed them. There one may behold immenſe arches, ſupported by rocks of ſalt hewn into the ſhape of pillars. The ſalts are white, blue, green, red, and of all colours, ſo that an infinite number of lamps hanging againſt theſe huge pillars, form a luſtre which dazzles the eyes, like that of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, ſaphirs, and all precious ſtones. What ſeems incredible, a rivulet of freſh water flows through theſe ſalt mines, and furniſhes drink to the inhabitants. This water is diſtributed into canals, caſcades, baſons and reſervatories to adorn theſe places where the ſun never ſhines, and to be made uſe of in the works which are here carried on.

After ſome years hard and painful labour, we were appointed maſters of the ſlaves. I had read the books of Hermes, knew his whole doctrine about the myſteries of nature, and had been inſtructed in the occult ſciences. We apply'd ourſelves to ſtudy thoſe wonders by experiments; to deſcend from known effects to thoſe which are more hid, and to re-aſcend from thence to firſt cauſes. When we had examin'd, compounded and decompounded bodies of all kinds that are found in thoſe ſubterraneous regions, we at laſt diſcover'd that in the viſible univerſe there were but two principles, the one active, the other paſſive; an elementary fire, uniform, univerſal, and infinitely ſubtile, and an original virgin earth which is hard, ſolid, and the ſubſtance of all bodies.

[a] *The preſent mines of Viliſca, five miles from Cracow, reſemble thoſe which are here deſcribed.*

Before

Before Typhon broke the egg of the world, and introduc'd the evil principle there, the ethereal matter penetrated all the parts of the virgin earth; by compreſſing ſome of them it gave compactneſs to ſolids, and by making others of them float produced liquids; the former were the canals through which the latter flow'd, in order to a univerſal and regular circulation in all the parts of the univerſe; the waters inclos'd in the centre of the earth not only perſpir'd through its pores, and ſupply'd that moiſture which is neceſſary to vegetation, but ſprang out in fountains, whoſe united ſtreams flowed in rivers great and ſmall to beautify the face of nature. The inward conſtitution of bodies was then viſible, becauſe every thing was luminous or tranſparent; the earth receiving or reflecting the rays of light, produced the agreeable variety of colours, and there was nothing dark or dazzling.

After the fall of ſpirits and the revolt of Typhon, this beautiful order was deſtroy'd. The active principle which bound together all the parts of our globe, withdrawing itſelf, the waters burſt forth from their abyſs, and overflowed the face of the earth; the common maſs was totally diſſolved, 'twas all a dark chaos and an univerſal confuſion. The Goddeſs Iſis beholding the ruin of her work, reſolved to repair it, yet without reſtoring it to its firſt perfection, She laid the plan of a new world, very different indeed from the former, but ſuch a one as was proper to be the habitation of degraded ſpirits. She ſpake, nature obey'd her voice, and the ſhapeleſs chaos took a form, yet ſo, as that art and ſeeming chance, light and darkneſs, order and confuſion were mingled throughout. The earth was now opaque, ugly and irregular, like the intelligences that inhabit it. Diamonds, rubies, emeralds and the other precious ſtones, are but the ruins of the primitive earth which was all compos'd

pos'd of such materials. Some say that the chaos happen'd a long time before the deluge, that the first ensued upon the fall of the Genii, and that the other was a punishment of the crimes of men: Be that as it will, we have every where convincing proofs of the universal dissolving [a] of the common mass. We find in the inmost bowels of the earth, in mines and upon the highest mountains, fishes, birds, and all sorts of animals which floated in the water, and are petrified since that inundation.

[b] At present all the fluids and solids result from the irregular combination of the active and passive principle, and it is the philosopher's province to discover the general laws of this combination. One may consider the particles of the pure elementary fire as indivisible points, and those of the earth as lines, as surfaces, or as grosser corpuscles; when the etherial matter sticks to those terrestrial particles that are long and pointed, it produces spears, darts, and winged arrows, which are the principles of salts; when it brings together, unites and compresses several surfaces, and penetrates them without being absorbed in them, it engenders the principles of crystals; when it is imprison'd in the cavities of opaque corpuscles, it forms spunges of fire, or the principles of sulphurs; and hence result the first elements of all solids: When the terrestrial particles float in the ethereal matter, and wear themselves round by rubbing against one another, these invisible spheres become the principles of all fluids; little balls of mercury when they are opaque and heavy, drops of water when they are transparent and light, bubbles of air when they are endued with e-

[a] *Dr. Woodward's system is very ancient, and is to be found among the Abyssinians. See Patritio della Rhetorica, p. 7.*

[b] *See Boerhaave.*

lasticity

laſticity by the inceſſant egreſs and regreſs of the etherial matter through their pores.

From the combination of theſe three ſolids, and three fluids, which are not themſelves ſimple but compounded, all other bodies are engendred. The mixture of ſulphur with mercury makes the baſis of metals, which are more or leſs pure, as there are more or leſs of the terreſtrial particles in their compoſition. Precious ſtones are formed by the incorporating of metals with cryſtal, gold makes rubies, mercury diamonds, copper emeralds. The groſſer and more irregular particles of earth, when cemented by water, conſtitute the opaque and common ſtones. Laſtly, ſulphurs, ſalts, mercury and earth blended together in one common maſs, without rule or proportion, produce minerals, half metals, and all kinds of foſſils; while the more ſubtile and volatile parts being diluted with water and air, turn into liquors and vapours of all ſorts.

We frequently amus'd ourſelves with imitating theſe operations of nature, diſſolving ſolids, fixing liquids, and then reducing them to their firſt forms; with mixing ſulphurs, ſalts and minerals together, in order to make them ferment and thereby engender exhalations, clouds, winds, thunder, and all ſorts of meteors; with making tranſparent bodies opaque, and opaque bodies tranſparent; with ſuddenly changing colours into their oppoſites by barely mixing with them certain fluids that have no colour. Being thus entertained with the ſports of nature and art, we were beginning to make our ſelves tolerably eaſy under our misfortunes, when heaven reſtored us to liberty, by a ſtroke equally terrible and unexpected.

The ſubterraneous fires ſometimes break their priſons with a violence that ſeems to ſhake nature even to its foundations; like the thunder which burſts the clouds, vomiting out flames and filling the air with

with its roarings. We frequently felt thoſe terrible convulſions. One day the ſhocks redoubled, the earth ſeemed to groan, and we expected nothing but death, when the impetuous fires opened a paſſage into a ſpacious cavern, and that which ſeemed to threaten us with loſs of life procured us liberty. We walked a long time by the light of our lamps before we ſaw the day; but at length the ſubterraneous paſſage ended at an old temple, which we knew by the bas-reliefs upon the altar, to have been conſecrated to Oſiris. We proſtrated ourſelves and adored the Divinity of the place; we had no victims to offer, nor any thing wherewith to make libations, but inſtead of all ſacrifice, we made a ſolemn vow, For ever to love virtue.

This temple was ſituated near the Arabian gulf. We embarked in a veſſel which was bound for Muza, landed there, croſs'd a great part of Arabia Felix, and at length arrived in this ſolitude. The Gods ſeem to have concealed the moſt beautiful places of the earth, from thoſe who know not how to prize a life of peace and tranquillity. We found men, in theſe woods and foreſts, of ſweet and humane diſpoſitions, full of truth and juſtice. We ſoon made ourſelves famous among them; Arobal taught them how to draw the bow, and throw the javelin to deſtroy the wild beaſts which ravaged their flocks; I inſtructed them in the laws of Hermes, and cured their diſeaſes by the help of ſimples. They looked upon us as divine men; and we every day admired the motions of beautiful nature, which we obſerv'd in them; their unaffected joy, their ingenuous ſimplicity, and their affectionate gratitude. We then ſaw that great cities and magnificent courts have only ſerv'd too much to corrupt the manners and ſentiments of mankind; and that by uniting a multitude of men in the ſame place, they often do but unite

unite and multiply their paſſions. We thank'd the Gods for our being undeceived with regard to thoſe falſe pleaſures, and even falſe virtues both political and military, which ſelf-love has introduced into numerous ſocieties, and which only ſerve to delude men, and to make them ſlaves to their ambition. But, alas! how inconſtant are human things! how weak is the mind of man! Arobal, that virtuous, affectionate, and generous friend, who had ſupported impriſonment with ſo much courage, and ſlavery with ſo much reſolution, could not content himſelf with a ſimple and uniform life. Having a genius for war, he ſighed after great exploits, and being more a philoſopher in ſpeculation than in reality, confeſs'd to me, that he could no longer bear the calm of retirement; he left me, and I have never ſeen him ſince.

I ſeem to myſelf a being left alone upon the earth; Apries perſecuted me, Amaſis betrayed me, Arobal forſakes me; I find every where a frightful void. I experience that friendſhip, the greateſt of all felicities, is hard to be met with; paſſions, frailties, a thouſand contrarieties either cool it or diſturb its harmony. Men love themſelves too much to love a friend well; I know them now, and I cannot eſteem them; however I do not hate men; I have a ſincere benevolence for them, and would do them good without hope of recompence. Whilſt Amenophis was ſpeaking, one might ſee upon the Prince's countenance the different ſentiments and paſſions, which theſe various events would naturally raiſe in a generous mind. The Egyptian having finiſhed the relation of his misfortunes, Cyrus asked him, whether he knew what was become of Apries. Amenophis anſwered, I am inform'd that the King is yet alive, and that after having wandered a long time in the mountains, he has at length got together an army of Carians and Ionians, who during

during his reign and by his permiſſion, ſettled in Upper-Egypt, and has made himſelf maſter of the city of Dioſpolis.

Cyrus then ſaid to the Egyptian, I admire the conſtancy and courage with which you have ſuſtain'd the ſhocks of fortune, but I cannot approve of your remaining in this inaction: It is not lawful to enjoy repoſe ſo long as we are in a condition to labour for the good of our country; man is not born for himſelf alone, but for ſociety; Egypt has ſtill need of your aſſiſtance, and the Gods preſent you a new opportunity of being uſeful to her; why do you continue a moment in this ſolitude? An ordinary virtue is diſheartened by ill ſucceſs and adverſe fortune, but heroic virtue is never diſcouraged: Let us fly to the aſſiſtance of Apries, and deliver him from the oppreſſion of an uſurper. Amenophis to increaſe the ardor of Cyrus ſeem'd very unwilling at firſt to return into Egypt, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be long intreated before he yielded to the Prince's ſollicitations.

Cyrus, before he left Arabia, diſpatched couriers to Nabuchodonoſor King of Babylon, who had married Amytis the ſiſter of Mandana, to ſollicit his uncle in favour of Apries; then having concerted with Amenophis all the neceſſary meaſures to make their deſigns ſucceed, they ſet out together, croſſed the country of the Sabeans with great expedition, ſoon arrived upon the ſhore of the Arabian gulf and embark'd for Egypt. Cyrus was ſurpriſed to find here a new kind of beauty which he had not ſeen in Arabia; there, all was the effect of ſimple nature, but here, every thing was improved by art.

It ſeldom rains in Egypt, but the Nile by its regular overflowings ſupplies it with the rains and melted ſnows of other countries. This river, by the means of an infinite number of canals, made a communication between the cities, join'd the great ſea

ſea with the red ſea, and thus promoted both foreign and domeſtic commerce. The cities of Egypt were numerous, large, well peopled, full of magnificent temples and ſtately palaces: They roſe like iſlands in the midſt of the waters and overlook'd the plains, which appeared all fruitful, gay and ſmiling; there one might ſee hamlets neat and commodious, villages ſweetly ſituated, pyramids that ſerved for the ſepulchers of great men, and obelisks which contain'd the hiſtory of their exploits. Agriculture, the mechanic arts and commerce, which are the three ſupports of a ſtate, flouriſhed every where, and proclaimed a laborious and rich people, as well as a prudent, ſteady, and mild government.

The Prince of Perſia could take but a curſory view of theſe things in the haſte he was in to get to Dioſpolis, where he joined the army of Apries. The King touched with the generoſity of Cyrus embraced him affectionately, and then ſaid to him, looking at the ſame time upon Amenophis; Prince, let my example teach you to know men, and to love thoſe who have the honeſty and courage to tell you truth when it is diſagreeable. The preſence of the young hero revived the hopes of Apries, and that of Amenophis contributed much to augment his army; it ſoon increas'd to the number of thirty thouſand men. The two Princes accompanied by Amenophis and Araſpes left Dioſpolis, marched againſt the uſurper, and came in ſight of his army, which was ſtrongly encamp'd near Memphis.

Apries was a Prince of great experience in the art of war, and was thoroughly acquainted with the country; he ſeized all the advantageous poſts, and pitched his camp over againſt that of Amaſis. The uſurper not imagining that the King of Egypt could have got together ſuch a numerous body of troops in ſo ſhort a time, had march'd from Sais with

with only twenty thouſand men. When Apries had in perſon taken a view of the enemy, and had diſcover'd that they were much inferior in number, he reſolv'd to attack them in their camp. The next day Cyrus and Araſpes, at the head of ten thouſand Carians, forced the advanced guards of Amaſis, and approached his lines, and being ſoon after joined by Apries and Amenophis, broke through the intrenchments, and vigorouſly attacked the Egyptians; the engagement was bloody, and the victory for a long time doubtful. Cyrus impatient to finiſh the battle by ſome remarkable exploit, put himſelf at the head of a choice body of cavalry, fought every where for Amaſis and found him. The uſurper being a brave general, as well as able politician, was flying from rank to rank, encouraging ſome, and hindering others from running away. Cyrus lanced his javelin at him, crying out, Tyrant, it is time to put an end to thy crimes and thy uſurpation. The javelin pierced the cuiraſs of Amaſis, and entered his body; a ſtream of blood flowed from his wound; furious as a wild boar pierced by the hunter's ſpear, he came up to Cyrus with his drawn ſabre, and raiſing his arm, Raſh youth, he cried, receive the reward of thy audaciouſneſs: the Prince of Perſia avoided the blow, but when he would have taken his revenge he found himſelf ſurrounded by a troop of young Egyptians, who came to the relief of Amaſis. Then Cyrus, like a young lyon juſt robbed of his prey, made himſelf a paſſage through the enemy; every blow he gave was mortal, he defended himſelf a long time, but was at laſt ready to be overpowered when Amenophis came to his ſuccour, and then the battle was renew'd. Amaſis notwithſtanding his wound did not quit the field, but rais'd the drooping courage of his men, and made Cyrus admire both his bravery and conduct. Night at length put an end to the action; Apries remained maſter

master of the field, yet Amasis retired in good order with his troops, repassed the Nile, and gained the neighbouring mountains; the passes into these mountains were narrow and difficult, and he resolved therefore to continue in this secure post till he was recovered of his wounds, and had reinforced his army.

Apries took advantage of the enemy's inaction to make himself master of Memphis, which he carried by assault in a few days. Upon this Amasis without waiting till he was perfectly cured, got together with incredible expedition an army of fifty thousand men, and gave a second battle. As Apries's troops were already much weaken'd, the usurper overpower'd them by numbers, and took the King of Egypt prisoner. Cyrus, Araspes and Amenophis fearing to be surrounded, retired with the bravest of the Carian and Ionian troops to the city of Memphis; those who did not follow them were either put to the sword, or made prisoners of war.

Amasis understanding who the young hero was that had wounded him, was apprehensive of his credit at the court of Babylon, and dispatched couriers thither; till their return he contented himself with blocking up the city, and retired with the greatest part of his army to Sais, whither he likewise conducted the captive King. Amasis paid him great honours for some days, and in order to sound the inclinations of the people proposed to them the replacing him on the throne, but at the same time secretly formed a design of taking away his life. The Egyptians were all earnest to have the Prince put to death, Amasis yielded him to their pleasure, he was strangled in his own palace, and the unfortunate remains of the royal family were massacred the same day. Cyrus heard with grief the melancholy news of the fate of Apries, and understood

ſtood at the ſame time by the return of his couriers the diſpoſitions of Nabuchodonoſor. This conqueror ſent Cyrus word to abandon Apries to his fate, but commanded Amaſis to obey the orders of the Prince of Perſia. Cyrus ſighed within himſelf, and could not forbear ſaying, I fear that the Gods will one day ſeverely puniſh Nabuchodonoſor for his inſatiable thirſt of Dominion, and, above all, revenge upon him his protection of Amaſis.

As ſoon as the uſurper underſtood the King of Babylon's pleaſure, he ordered his troops to retire from before Memphis, and ſet out in perſon from Sais to wait upon the Prince of Perſia. He advanced towards Memphis with all his court, but Cyrus refuſed to ſee him, and only wrote him this letter: The faults of Apries are puniſhed by the crimes of Amaſis; it is thus that the juſt Gods ſport with mortals, and ſeem to leave crowns to the diſpoſal of chance: Thy day will come; in the mean time I ſend Amenophis to declare to thee my will and pleaſure. Hadſt thou any feeling of virtue the ſight of him alone would overwhelm thee with reproaches that I diſdain to make thee.

Amenophis followed by ſome Carians, haſtened to meet Amaſis, and found him not many furlongs from Memphis. He was ſurrounded by all the chief men of Egypt; 'twas an aſſembly of old courtiers, who had betrayed Apries through ambition, and of young men corrupted by pleaſures. Amenophis approach'd Amaſis with a reſolute, noble and modeſt air, and deliver'd him Cyrus's letter; the uſurper read it, and immediately a dark cloud overſpread his face; the remembrance of his crimes confounded him, and ſtruck him dumb; he endeavour'd to ſummon up all his confidence but in vain; he caſt a look upon Amenophis, yet without daring to fix his eyes upon him; ſhame and remorſe were ſucceeded by rage and indignation, but the dread of Cyrus forced him

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to diſſemble; labouring under the conflict of ſo many different paſſions, he turned pale and trembled; he would have ſpoke but utterance failed him; 'tis thus that vice, even when triumphant, cannot ſupport the preſence of virtue, tho' in adverſity and diſgrace. Amenophis perceived his confuſion and perplexity, and only ſaid to him; 'tis the will of Cyrus that all the priſoners of war be ſet at liberty, and be ſuffer'd, together with the troops that are in Memphis, to return to their former habitations in Upper-Egypt, and to live there without moleſtation. O Amaſis, I have nothing to demand of thee for myſelf, the preſent diſpoſitions of thy ſoul will not ſuffer me to put thee in mind of my former affection, and thy ingratitude! Mayſt thou one day ſee the beauty of virtue, repent of having forſaken her, and divert the anger of heaven which threatens thee. This ſaid, he retir'd and left Amaſis cover'd with ſhame and confuſion; he haſten'd back to Memphis, and the uſurper return'd to Sais, after he had given orders to put Cyrus's commands in execution. From this time to his death Amaſis was always plunged in a gloomy ſadneſs.

Cyrus ſeeing the war at an end, applied himſelf to learn the hiſtory, policy and laws of ancient Egypt: He ſtayed ſome time at Memphis, and convers'd every day with the prieſts of this city, in preſence of Amenophis and Araſpes. He found that the Egyptians had compos'd their hiſtory of an almoſt unbounded ſucceſſion of ages; but that the fictions with which they had fill'd their annals about the reign of Ammon, Oſiris, Iſis and Orus, were only allegories to expreſs the firſt ſtate of ſouls before the great change which happen'd upon the revolt of Typhon: They believ'd, that after the origin of evil, their country was the leaſt disfigur'd, and the ſooneſt inhabited of any. Their firſt King was nam'd Menes; and their hiſtory from his reign is reduced to three

ages; the firſt, which reaches to the time of the Shepherd-Kings, takes in eight hundred years; the ſecond, from the Shepherd-Kings to Seſoſtris, five hundred; the third, from Seſoſtris to Amaſis, contains more than ſeven centuries.

During the firſt age, Egypt was divided into ſeveral dynaſties or governments, which had each its King. She had then no foreign commerce, but confin'd herſelf to agriculture, and a paſtoral life; ſhepherds were heroes, and kings philoſophers. In thoſe days liv'd the firſt Hermes, who penetrated into all the ſecrets of nature and of divinity; it was the age of occult ſciences. The Greeks, ſay the Egyptians, imagine that the world in its infancy was ignorant, but they think ſo, only becauſe they themſelves are always children [a]; they know nothing of the origin of the world, its antiquity, and the revolutions which have happen'd in it. The men of Mercury's time had yet a remembrance of the reign of Oſiris, and had divers traditional lights which we have loſt. The arts of imitation, poeſy, muſic, painting, every thing within the province of the imagination, are but ſports of the mind, in compariſon of the ſublime ſciences known by the firſt men. Nature was then obedient to the voice of the ſages; they could put all its hidden ſprings in motion; they produc'd the moſt amazing prodigies whenever they pleas'd; the aerial Genii were ſubject to them [b]; they had frequent intercourſe with the ætherial ſpirits, and ſometimes with the pure intelligences that inhabit the empyreum. We have loſt, ſaid the prieſts to Cyrus, this exalted kind of knowledge. We have only remaining ſome traces of it upon our ancient obelisks, which may be call'd, the regiſters of our divinity, myſteries, and traditions relating to the

[a] *See the Diſc. p. 54.*
[b] *See Jamblichus de Myſteriis Ægyptiorum.*

Deity and to nature, and in no wife the annals of our civil hiſtory, as the ignorant imagine.

The ſecond age was that of the Shepherd-Kings, who came from Arabia; they over-ran Egypt with an army of two hundred thouſand men. The ignorance and ſtupidity of theſe unciviliz'd Arabians, occaſion'd the ſublime and occult ſciences to be deſpis'd and forgotten; their imagination could receive nothing but what was material and ſenſible. From their time the genius of the Egyptians was intirely chang'd, and turn'd to the ſtudy of architecture, war, and all thoſe vain arts and ſciences which are uſeleſs and hurtful to thoſe who can content themſelves with ſimple nature. It was then that idolatry came into Egypt: Sculpture, painting and poeſy obſcur'd all pure ideas, and transform'd them into ſenſible images; the vulgar ſtop there, without ſeeing into the hidden meaning of the allegories. Some little time after this invaſion of the Arabians, ſeveral Egyptians, who could not ſupport the yoke of foreigners, left their country, and ſettled themſelves in colonies in all parts of the world. Hence thoſe great men famous in other nations; the Belus of the Babylonians, the Cecrops of the Athenians, and the Cadmus of the Bœotians; and hence it is, that all the nations of the univerſe owe their laws, ſciences, and religion to Egypt. In this manner ſpoke the prieſts to Cyrus. In this age liv'd the ſecond Hermes, call'd Triſmegiſtus; he was the reſtorer of the ancient religion; he collected the laws and ſciences of the firſt Mercury in forty two volumes, which were call'd, THE TREASURE OF REMEDIES FOR THE SOUL, becauſe they cure the mind of its ignorance, the ſource of all evils.

The third age was that of conqueſts and luxury. Arts were perfected more and more; cities, edifices, and pyramids multiplied. The father of Seſoſtris caus'd all the children, who were born the ſame

day with his ſon, to be brought to court, and educated with the ſame care as the young Prince. Upon the death of the King, Seſoſtris levy'd a formidable army, and appointed the young men who had been educated with him, to be the officers to command it; there were near two thouſand of them, who were able to inſpire all the troops with courage, military virtues, and attachment to the Prince, whom they conſider'd both as their maſter and their brother. He form'd a deſign of conquering the whole world, and penetrated into the Indies farther than either Bacchus or Hercules; the Scythians ſubmitted to his empire; Thrace and Aſia Minor are full of the monuments of his victories; upon thoſe monuments are to be ſeen the proud inſcriptions of Seſoſtris King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Having extended his conqueſts from the Ganges to the Danube, and from the river Tanaïs to the extremities of Africa, he return'd after nine years abſence, loaded with the ſpoils of all the conquer'd nations, and drawn in a chariot by the kings whom he had ſubdu'd. His government was altogether military and deſpotical; he leſſen'd the authority of the Pontiffs, and transferr'd their power to the commanders of the army. After his death diſſentions aroſe among thoſe chiefs, and continu'd for three generations. Under Aniſis the Blind, Sabacon the Ethiopian took advantage of their diſcords and invaded Egypt. This religious Prince re-eſtabliſh'd the power of the prieſts, reign'd fifty years in a profound peace, and then return'd into his own country, in obedience to the oracles of his Gods. The kingdom thus forſaken, fell into the hands of Sethon the high-prieſt of Vulcan; he entirely deſtroy'd the art of war among the Egyptians, and deſpiſed the military men. The reign of ſuperſtition, which enervates the minds of men, ſucceeded that of deſpotic power, which had too much ſunk their courage. From that time Egypt

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was supported only by foreign troops, and it fell by degrees into a kind of anarchy. Twelve Nomarchs, chosen by the people, shar'd the kingdom between them, till one of them, named Psammeticus, made himself master of all the rest: Then Egypt recover'd itself a little, and continu'd pretty powerful for five or six reigns; but at length this ancient kingdom became tributary to Nabuchodonosor King of Babylon. The conquests of Sesostris were the source of all these calamities. Cyrus perceiv'd by this, that Princes who are insatiable of conquering, are enemies to their posterity; by seeking to extend their dominion too far, they sap the foundation of their authority.

The ancient laws of Egypt lost much of their force even in the reign of Sesostris; in Cyrus's time nothing remain'd but the remembrance of them: This Prince collected all he could learn of them from his conversation with the great men and old sages who were then living. These laws may be reduced to three, upon which all the rest depend; the first relates to kings, the second to polity, and the third to civil justice.

The kingdom was hereditary, but the kings were subject to the laws. The Egyptians esteemed it a criminal usurpation upon the rights of the great Osiris, and as a mad presumption in a man to give his will for a law. As soon as the King rose in the morning, which was at the break of day, when the understanding is clearest, and the soul most serene, all matters upon which he was to decide that day, were plainly and distinctly laid before him; but before he pronounc'd judgment, he went to the temple to invoke the Gods and to offer sacrifice. Being there surrounded by all his court, and the victims standing at the altar, he assisted at a prayer full of instruction, the form of which was as follows: Great Osiris! Eye of the world and light of spirits! Grant

to the Prince, your image, all royal virtues, that he may be religious towards the Gods, and benign towards men, moderate, juſt, magnanimous, generous, an enemy of falſhood, maſter of his paſſions, puniſhing leſs than the crime deſerves, and rewarding beyond merit. After this the high-prieſt repreſented to him the faults he had committed againſt the laws; but it was always ſuppos'd that he fell into them by ſurpriſe, or thro' ignorance; and the miniſters who had given him evil counſels, or had diſguis'd the truth, were loaded with imprecations. After the prayer and the ſacrifice, they read to him the actions of the heroes and great kings, that the monarch might imitate their example, and maintain the laws which had render'd his predeceſſors illuſtrious, and their people happy. What is there that might not be hoped for from princes accuſtom'd, as an eſſential part of their religion, to hear daily the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſalutary truths? Accordingly, the greateſt number of the ancient Kings of Egypt were ſo dear to their people, that each private man bewail'd their death like that of a father.

The ſecond law related to polity, and the ſubordination of ranks. The lands were divided into three parts; the firſt was the King's domain, the ſecond belong'd to the chief prieſts, and the third to the military men. The common people were divided into three claſſes, husbandmen, ſhepherds and artizans: Theſe three ſorts made great improvements, each in their profeſſions; they profited by the experience of their anceſtors; each father tranſmitted his knowledge and skill to his children; no perſon was allow'd to forſake his hereditary profeſſion: By this means arts were cultivated and brought to a great perfection; and the diſturbances, occaſion'd by the ambition of thoſe who ſeek to riſe above the rank in which they are born, were prevented. To the end that no perſon might be aſham'd of the lowneſs of his

his ſtate and degree, the mechanic arts were held in honour. In the body politic, as in the natural, all the members contribute ſomething to the common life. In Egypt it was thought madneſs to deſpiſe a man becauſe he ſerves his country in a laborious employment. And thus was a due ſubordination of ranks preſerv'd, without expoſing the nobler to envy, or the meaner to contempt.

The third law regarded civil juſtice. Thirty judges, drawn out of the principal cities, compos'd the ſupreme council, which adminiſter'd juſtice throughout the kingdom; the Prince aſſign'd them revenues ſufficient to free them from domeſtic cares, that they might give their whole time to the compoſing of good laws, and enforcing the obſervation of them; they had no further profit of their labours, except the glory and pleaſure of ſerving their country. That the judges might not be impos'd upon, ſo as to paſs unjuſt decrees, the pleaders were forbidden that deluſive eloquence which dazzles the underſtanding, and moves the paſſions; they expos'd the matters of fact with a clear and nervous brevity, ſtripp'd of the falſe ornaments of reaſoning; the preſident of the ſenate wore a collar of gold and precious ſtones, at which hung a ſmall figure without eyes, which was called truth; he apply'd it to the forehead and heart of him who gain'd his cauſe; for that was the manner of pronouncing ſentence. There was in Egypt a ſort of juſtice unknown in other nations: As ſoon as a man had yielded his laſt breath, he was brought to a tryal, and the publick accuſer was heard againſt him. In caſe it appear'd that the behaviour of the deceas'd had been culpable, his memory was branded, and he was refus'd burial; if he were not convicted of any crime againſt the Gods, or his country, he was entomb'd with marks of honour, and a panegyric made upon him, without mentioning any thing of his birth and deſcent. Before he was carry'd to

the ſepulchre, his bowels were taken out and put into an urn, which the pontiff held up towards the ſun, making this prayer in the name of the deceas'd [e]. Great Oſiris! Life of all beings! Receive my manes, and reunite them to the ſociety of the immortals; whilſt I liv'd, I endeavour'd to imitate You by truth and goodneſs; I have never committed any crime contrary to ſocial duty; I have reſpected the Gods of my fathers, and have honoured my parents; if I have committed any fault through human weakneſs, intemperance, or a taſte for pleaſure, theſe baſe ſpoils of my mortal nature have been the cauſe of it. As he pronounced theſe laſt words, he threw the urn into the river, and the reſt of the body, when embalm'd, was depoſited in the pyramids. Such were the notions of the ancient Egyptians: Being full of the hopes of immortality, they imagin'd that human frailties were expiated by our ſeparation from the mortal body; and that nothing but crimes committed againſt the Gods and ſociety, hinder'd the ſoul from being reunited to its origin.

All theſe things rais'd in Cyrus a great deſire to inſtruct himſelf thoroughly in the religion of ancient Egypt; and for this purpoſe he went to Thebes. Zoroaſter had directed him to Sonchis the high-prieſt of this city, to be inſtructed by him in all the religious myſteries of his country. Sonchis conducted him into a ſpacious hall, where were three hundred ſtatues of Egyptian high-prieſts. This long ſucceſſion of pontiffs gave the Prince a high notion of the antiquity of the religion of Egypt, and a great curioſity to know the principles of it. To make you acquainted, ſaid the pontiff, with the origin of our worſhip, ſymbols and myſteries, I muſt give you the hiſtory of Hermes Triſmegiſtus, who was the founder of them.

[e] *Porphyry de Abſtinentia, lib.* 4. *ſect.* 10.

Siphcas,

Siphoas, or Hermes, the second of the name, was of the race of our first sovereigns. While his mother was with child of him, she went by sea to Lybia, to offer a sacrifice to Jupiter Hammond. As she coasted along Africa, a sudden storm arose, and the vessel perish'd near a desart island. She escaped by a particular protection of the Gods, and was cast upon the island all alone; there she liv'd a solitary life, until her delivery, at which time she died. The infant remain'd expos'd to the inclemencies of the weather, and the fury of the wild beasts; but heaven, which design'd him for great purposes, preserv'd him in the midst of these misfortunes. A young she-goat hearing his cries, came and suckled him till he was past infancy. For some years he fed upon the tender grass with his nurse, but afterwards upon dates and wild fruits, which seem'd to him a more proper food. He perceiv'd by the first rays of reason which began to shine in him, that he was not of the same make with the beasts; that he had more understanding, invention and address than they; and thence conjectur'd, that he might be of a different nature.

The she-goat which had nourished him died of old age. He was much surpriz'd at this new phænomenon, of which he had never observ'd the like before; he could not comprehend why she continu'd so long cold and without motion; he consider'd her for several days; he compar'd all he saw in her with what he felt in himself, and perceiv'd that he had a beating in his breast, and a principle of motion in him, which was no longer in her. The mind speaks to itself, without knowing the arbitrary names which we have affix'd to our ideas. Hermes reason'd thus: The goat did not give herself that principle of life, since she has lost it and cannot restore it to herself.

As he was endow'd by nature with a wonderful sagacity, he sought a long time for the cause of this change; he observ'd that the plants and trees seem'd

to die, and to revive every year, by the going away and return of the ſun; he imagin'd that this ſtar was the principle of all things, and he expoſed the carcaſe to its rays, but life did not return; on the contrary he ſaw it putrify, grow dry and fall to pieces, nothing remain'd but the bones; it is not the ſun then, ſaid he within himſelf, that gives life to animals. He examin'd whether it might not be ſome other ſtar; but having obſerv'd that the ſtars which ſhined in the night had neither ſo much heat nor light as the ſun, and that all nature ſeem'd to languiſh in the abſence of the day, he concluded that the ſtars were not the firſt principles of life.

As he advanc'd in age, his underſtanding ripen'd, and his reflections became more profound. He had remark'd that inanimate bodies could not move of themſelves, that animals did not reſtore motion to themſelves when they had loſt it, and that the ſun did not revive dead bodies; hence he inferr'd, that there was in nature a Firſt Mover more powerful than the ſun or the ſtars, and which gave activity and motion to all bodies.

Reflecting afterwards upon himſelf he obſerv'd, that there was ſomething in him which felt, which thought, and which compar'd his thoughts together. Diſſipating minds wandering about in vain purſuits, and loſt in amuſements never enter into themſelves; their nobler faculties are benumb'd, ſtupified and buried in matter. Hermes not being diverted by prejudices and paſſions, from liſtening to the ſtill voice of wiſdom, which inceſſantly calls us into ourſelves, obey'd that divine whiſper without knowing it; he retired more and more into his ſpiritual nature, and by a ſimplicity of heart attain'd to the diſcovery of thoſe truths, which others arrive at by ſubtilty of reaſoning. After having meditated ſeveral years on the operations of his own mind, without knowing or imagining that there was any difference between

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the ſoul and body, he concluded that he himſelf was not the firſt cauſe of thought, any more than of motion; that he deriv'd both the one and the other from the ſame ſource, and conſequently that the Firſt Mover muſt have intelligence as well as power.

Scarce had he got a glimpſe of theſe truths when tranſported with joy he ſaid within himſelf, 'Since 'the Firſt Mover has ſo much power and wiſdom, 'he muſt alſo abound in goodneſs; he cannot but 'be ready to ſuccour thoſe who have need of his 'aſſiſtance, as I endeavour to relieve the animals that 'want my help; my power, my reaſon and my 'goodneſs can only be emanations from his.' Man in the midſt of beings that can give him no ſuccour, is in a wretched ſituation; but when he diſcovers the idea of a being who is able to make him happy, there is nothing can compare with his hopes and his joy.

The deſire of happineſs, inſeparable from our nature, made Hermes wiſh to ſee that Firſt Mover, to know him, and to converſe with him. If I could, ſaid he, make him underſtand my thoughts and my deſires, doubtleſs he would render me more happy than I am. His hopes and his joy were ſoon diſturb'd by great doubts. Alas! ſaid he, if the Firſt Mover be as good and beneficent as I imagine him, why do I not ſee him? Why has he not made himſelf known to me? And above all, why am I in this melancholy ſolitude, where I ſee nothing like myſelf, nothing that ſeems to reaſon as I do, nothing that can give me any aſſiſtance? In the midſt of theſe perplexities, his weak reaſon was ſilent, and could make no anſwer. His heart ſpoke, and turning itſelf to the firſt Principle, ſaid to him in that mute language which the Gods underſtand better than words: Life of all beings! ſhew thy ſelf to me; make me to know who thou art, and what I am; come and ſuccour me in this my ſolitary and miſerable

The great Osiris loves a pure heart, and is always attentive to its desires. He ordered the first Hermes, or Mercury, to take a human form, and to go and instruct him. One day, when young Trismegistus was sleeping at the foot of a tree, Hermes came and sat down by him. Trismegistus when he awak'd was surpriz'd to behold a figure like his own; he utter'd some sounds, but they were not articulate; he discover'd all the different motions of his soul, by those transports, that earnestness, those ingenuous and artless signs, whereby nature teaches men to express what they strongly feel. Mercury in a little time taught the savage Philosopher the Egyptian language. He then inform'd him what he was, and what he was to be, and instructed him in all the sciences which Trismegistus afterwards taught the Egyptians. He now began to discern several marks, which he had not observed before, of an infinite Wisdom and Power diffus'd throughout all nature; and thereby perceiv'd the weakness of human reason when left to itself and without instruction. He was astonished at his former ignorance, but his new discoveries produc'd new perplexities. One day, when Mercury was speaking to him of the noble destiny of man, the dignity of his nature, and the immortality which awaits him, he answer'd; If the great Osiris ordains mortals to so perfect a felicity, whence is it that they are born in such ignorance? Whence comes it that he does not shew himself to them, and dispel their darkness? Alas! if you had not come to enlighten me, I should have sought long without discovering the first Principle of all things, such as you have made him known to me Upon this Mercury unfolded to him all the secrets of the Egyptian Theology, in the following manner.

[a] The primitive state of man was very different

[a] *See the Egyptian Theology, in the Disc. p. 49.*

from

from what it is at present. Without, all the parts of the universe were in a perfect harmony; within, all was in subjection to the immutable laws of reason; every one carried his rule within his own breast, and all the nations of the earth were but one republic of sages. Mankind liv'd then without discord, ambition, or pomp, in a perfect peace, equality, and simplicity: Each man however had his particular qualities and inclinations, but all inclinations were subservient to the love of virtue, and all talents applied to the discovery of truth; the beauties of nature, and the perfections of its author, were the entertainment and study of the first men. The imagination presented nothing then but just and pure ideas; the passions being in subjection to reason, rais'd no tumult in the heart, and the love of pleasure was always regulated by the love of order. The God Osiris, the Goddess Isis, and their son Orus, came often and conversed with men, and taught them all the mysteries of wisdom. This terrestrial life, how happy soever, was nevertheless but the infancy of our beings, in which souls were prepared for a successive unfolding of intelligence and happiness. When they had lived a certain time upon the earth, men chang'd their form without dying, and flew away to the stars, where with new faculties and new light they discovered new truths, and enjoy'd new pleasures; from thence they were rais'd to another world, thence to a third, and so travell'd through the immense spaces by endless metamorphoses.

A whole age, and, according to some, many ages pass'd in this manner; at length there happen'd a sad change both in spirits and in bodies. Typhon, chief of the Genii, and his companions had formerly inhabited our happy dwelling; but being intoxicated with pride, and forgetting themselves so far as to attempt to scale heaven, they were thrown

down headlong, and buried in the centre of the earth. They came out of their abyſs, broke thro' the egg of the world, diffus'd the evil principle over it, and corrupted the minds, hearts and manners of its inhabitants. The ſoul of the great Oſiris forſook his body, which is NATURE, and it became a carcaſs. Typhon tore it in pieces, diſpers'd its members, and blaſted all its beauties.

From that time the body became ſubject to diſeaſes and to death, the mind to error and to paſſions; the imagination of man preſents him now with nothing but chimera's; his reaſon ſerves only to contradict his inclinations, without being able to correct them; the greateſt part of his pleaſures are falſe and deceitful, and all his pains, even his imaginary ones, are real evils; his heart is an abundant ſource of reſtleſs deſires, frivolous fears, vain hopes, diſorderly inclinations, which ſucceſſively torment him; a crowd of wild thoughts and turbulent paſſions cauſe an inteſtine war within him, make him continually take arms againſt himſelf, and render him at the ſame time both an idolater and an enemy of his own nature. That which each man feels in himſelf, is a lively image of what paſſes in human ſociety. Three different empires are riſen in the world, and ſhare among them all characters, the empire of OPINION, that of AMBITION, and that of SENSUALITY: Error preſides in the firſt, force has the dominion in the ſecond, and vanity reigns in the third. Such is the preſent ſtate of human nature. The Goddeſs Iſis goes over all the earth, ſeeking the diſpers'd, deluded ſouls, to conduct them back to the empyreum, while the God Orus continually attacks the evil Principle. 'Tis ſaid, that he will at laſt re-eſtabliſh the reign of Oſiris, and will baniſh for ever the monſter Typhon; until that time good Princes may alleviate the miſeries of men, but they cannot entirely cure them. You, continued Mer-

cury, are of the race of the ancient Kings of Egypt, and are deſtin'd by the great Oſiris to reform that kingdom by your wiſe laws. He has preſerv'd you only that you may one day make other men happy; you will very ſoon ſee your own country. He ſaid, and of a ſudden roſe into the air, his body became tranſparent and diſappear'd by degrees like the morning ſtar, which flies at the approach of Aurora. He had a crown upon his head, wings at his feet, and held in his hand a caduceus; upon his flowing robe were all the hieroglyphicks which Triſmegiſtus afterwards made uſe of to expreſs the myſteries of Theology and of nature.

Meris the firſt, who then reign'd in Egypt, being admoniſhed by the Gods in a dream of all that paſſed in the deſart iſland, ſent thither for the ſavage Philoſopher, and perceiving the conformity between his ſtory and the divine dream, adopted him for his ſon. Triſmegiſtus, after the death of that Prince, aſcended the throne, and made Egypt for a long time happy by his wiſe laws. He wrote ſeveral books, which contain'd the divinity, philoſophy and policy of the Egyptians. The firſt Hermes had invented the ingenious art of expreſſing all ſorts of ſounds by the different combinations of a few letters; an invention moſt wonderful for its ſimplicity, but not ſufficiently admired becauſe it is common. Beſides this manner of writing, there was another, which was conſecrated to divine things, and which few perſons underſtood. Triſmegiſtus expreſs'd the virtues and paſſions of the ſoul, the actions and attributes of the Gods, by the figures of animals, inſects, plants, ſtars and divers other ſymbolical characters: Hence it is that we ſee ſphinxes, ſerpents, birds and crocodiles in our ancient temples, and upon our obelisks; but they are not the objects of our worſhip, as the Greeks fooliſhly imagine. Triſmegiſtus conceal'd the myſteries of religion under hieroglyphicks

roglyphicks and allegories, and expos'd nothing to the eyes of the vulgar but the beauties of his morality. This has been the method of the ſages in all times, and of the great legiſlators in all countries. Theſe divine men were ſenſible that corrupted minds could have no reliſh for heavenly truths till the heart was purify'd from its paſſions; for which reaſon they ſpread over religion a ſacred veil, which opens and vaniſhes when the eyes of the underſtanding are able to ſupport its brightneſs.

Cyrus perceiv'd by this hiſtory of Hermes, that the Oſiris, Orus and Typhon of the Egyptians, were the ſame with the Oromazes, Mythras and Arimanius of the Perſians; and that the Mythology of theſe two nations was founded upon the ſame principles. The notions of the Orientals were only more ſimple, clear and undiſguis'd by ſenſible images; thoſe of the Egyptians more allegorical, obſcure and wrapt up in fiction.

After Sonchis had diſcours'd with Cyrus in this manner, he conducted him to the temple, where he let him into all the ceremonies and myſteries of the Egyptian worſhip; a privilege which had never been granted before to any ſtranger, till he had gone through a ſevere probation. The temple was conſecrated to the Goddeſs Iſis, and built in an oval form to repreſent the egg of the world; over the great gate was this inſcription, [b] TO THE GODDESS WHO IS ONE, AND WHO IS ALL. The altar was a great obelisk of porphyry, on which were engraven ſeveral hieroglyphicks containing the ſecrets of the Egyptian religion. Towards the top appear'd three dark clouds, which ſeem'd to meet in a point; ſomewhat lower a tree planted in a muddy marſh, upon whoſe branches, which reached up to the clouds, ſat

[b] *Inſcription upon a temple of Iſis, which is yet to be ſeen at Capua.*

an

an hawk; by the side of this tree was a winged globe with a serpent coming out of it; at the bottom of all, a crocodile without a tongue hid itself in the waters of an abyss, a sphynx at the same time walking upon the surface. On one side of this altar stood the statue of the Goddess, cover'd with a veil, upon which were represented the figures of the celestial and terrestrial bodies; on the other side was the statue of Harpocrates, holding one hand upon his mouth, and pointing to the Goddess with the other [c].

The high priest, cloathed in his pontifical robes, explain'd to Cyrus the meaning of these symbols, before he began the sacrifice. We adore, said he, no other but the great Ammon, that is to say, the unknown God; we consider him sometimes as he is in himself, and at other times as manifested by nature. In the first sense we call him Eiaon, Emeph, Ptha, Life, Light and Love, all whose operations, thoughts and affections being concentred in himself, he remains in his solitary unity incomprehensible to mortals; thus consider'd [d] we adore him only by silence, or by the name of INCOMPREHENSIBLE DARKNESS thrice repeated; and we represent him by the clouds which you see towards the top of the obelisk.

Then we consider him as he has manifested himself in the multiplicity of nature, by a diffusive Goodness that communicates itself every where, by a sovereign Wisdom which forms within itself the ideas of all things, and by an infinite Power that produces, animates, preserves and governs whatever has

[c] *These hieroglyphicks are all Egyptian, and are to be found, with the explications here given of them, in Plutarch, Jamblichus, Dammascius and Horus Apollo, quoted by Kircher and Cudworth.*

[d] *This famous expression of the Egyptians is preserved by Dammascius.*

a being.

a being. We call these three forms of the divinity, Osiris, Isis, Orus, and we represent them by many different symbols: Sometimes by an hawk, which having of all birds the most piercing eye and the most rapid flight, serves to express the divine intelligence and activity. This bird sits upon the top of a tree, to signify that the eternal nature is infinitely exalted above matter, which is as dirt in comparison of the pure essence of the Deity. The globe denotes the indivisible Unity without beginning or end, the serpent the supreme Wisdom, and the wings that active Spirit which animates and gives life to all. The crocodile which appears under a deep water, and without a tongue, represents the great Osiris hidden in the abyss of nature, and doing all in a profound silence; but you see walking upon the surface of this abyss a sphynx, which being half man and half lyon, signifies the wisdom and strength of the two other principles. Lastly the Goddess Isis cover'd with a veil, and having, as you see, this inscription on her pedestal, I AM ALL THAT IS, HAS BEEN, OR SHALL BE, AND NO MORTAL CAN REMOVE THE VEIL THAT COVERS ME, declares, that universal nature is but a veil which covers the Divinity, and that no one can behold the splendor of his pure and naked essence. The posture of the God Harpocrates denotes that we ought never to speak of the incomprehensible essence of Isis, but only of her manifestations. The Egyptians in all other places have forgotten the original and sublime meaning of these sacred symbols; they adore the animals whose representations you see here, and pay contributions for their nourishment; but the inhabitants of Thebes refuse to do it; they acknowledge no mortal Gods, and adore but one sole Deity uncreated and eternal [e].

[e] *See Plutarch in his Isis and Osiris.*

Cyrus

Cyrus no ſooner underſtood the meaning of theſe hieroglyphicks, but he was the more deſirous of ſeeing the Egyptian ceremonies; and the ſacrifice began. While the victims were offering, and their blood ſtreaming at the foot of the altar, there was heard the moſt delicious muſic: On a ſudden the high-prieſt riſing up cry'd with a loud voice, Let us adore the great Ammon the unknown God, the incomprehenſible darkneſs; thrice he repeated theſe words, and thrice the people fell proſtrate; the muſic ſtopp'd, an univerſal ſilence reign'd, every one was afraid to breathe, leſt he ſhould diſturb the ſtillneſs and tranquillity of the place; then the voices joining the inſtruments, began this ſacred hymn, [f] Let us celebrate the praiſes of the immortal Iſis, ſhe is the mother of nature, the origin of all things, the ſum of all the divine virtues, the uniform face of the Gods and Goddeſſes; by one ſingle look ſhe enlightens the ſtars; at her command ſoft zephyrs refreſh the earth; ſhe rules over the diſmal and ſilent regions of hell; ſhe cheriſhes mortals, and ſhews them the affection of a mother in their afflictions; ſhe calms the tempeſts of fortune, ſhe reſtrains the noxious influences of the ſtars; the celeſtial Deities proſtrate themſelves before her, the infernal powers obey her; all the univerſe adores her under different names, and by different rites. The ſervice ended, forty prieſts walk'd two and two from the temple in proceſſion, ſinging hymns in honour of the Gods [g]: The high-prieſt came laſt with Cyrus at his right hand, and Amenophis at his left, encompaſs'd by a vaſt throng of people, who attended them in a reſpectful ſilence without tumult, and conducted the Prince back to the palace of the pontiff.

[f] *See Cudw. p.* 410.
[g] *See Clem. Alex. Strom.* 6. *p.* 633.

Cyrus

Cyrus ſtay'd ſome days with Sonchis, and then prepar'd to paſs into Greece. This country had fill'd all the Eaſt with the fame of her excellent laws, brave warriors and wiſe philoſophers. The Prince would gladly have engaged Amenophis to accompany him in his travels; and in order to prevail upon him promiſed that he would return by Babylon, and endeavour to perſuade Nabuchodonoſor to alter his reſolutions. O Cyrus, replied Amenophis, you are a ſtranger to the politicks of that conqueror; he reſolves to have none but tributary Kings in Egypt mere ſlaves to his will; Amaſis is a man for his purpoſe; Apries is dead, the race of our ancient Kings is extinct, the uſurper governs with gentleneſs and moderation; Egypt is in peace and tranquillity, and there is no longer any pretence for revolting. I am going back to my ſolitude, where I ſhall find thoſe pure pleaſures, which are not to be met with at the courts of Kings, nor in the hurry of buſineſs. Go, Prince, go render yourſelf worthy to accompliſh the Oracles; and never forget in the midſt of your ſucceſſes, that you have ſeen a Monarch, who was heretofore triumphant and glorious, driven on a ſudden from his throne, and become the ſport of fortune. They parted ſoon after; Amenophis returned to his former ſolitude in Arabia, and Cyrus left Egypt without ſeeing Amaſis, whoſe character and uſurpation he abhorr'd.

THE

THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

FOURTH BOOK.

CYRUS resolving to go the shortest way into Greece, went down the Nile from Memphis to the mouth of that river, and embarked upon the Great Sea in a Phœnician vessel, that was bound for Argolis. Araspes during the voyage, was sometimes sad and thoughtful, which Cyrus perceiving, ask'd him the reason. Araspes answer'd, You are a Prince, I dare not speak my heart to you. Let us forget the Prince, said Cyrus, and converse like friends. Well then, said Araspes, I obey: Every thing which Amenophis has said upon the instability of the heart of man in friendship, terrifies me; I often feel those contrarieties he has spoken of; your manners, which are too averse to pleasure, sometimes offend me; and, without doubt, my imperfections make you uneasy in their turn; how unhappy should I be, if this difference of character could alter or diminish our friendship. All men have their frailties, reply'd Cyrus; whoever looks for a friend without imperfections, will never find what he seeks; we are not always equally content with ourselves, how should we be so with our friend? We love ourselves nevertheless with all our faults,

faults, and we ought to love our friend in like manner; you have your failings, and I have mine, but our candour in mutually confeſſing our errors, and our indulgence in excuſing each other, ought to remove your fears of any breach in our friendſhip. It is treating one's friend like another ſelf, thus to ſhew him our ſoul quite naked, and this ingenuity makes all imperfections vaniſh. With other men it is ſufficient to be ſincere by never affecting to appear what we are not; but with a friend we muſt be ſimple, ſo as to ſhew ourſelves even ſuch as we are.

Cyrus then changed the converſation, and diſcourſed with his friend of all they had ſeen in Egypt: When he had dwelt a good while upon the beauties of that country, its revolutions, ſciences, religion and form of government, he thus concluded: I admire the wiſdom of all the laws of ancient Egypt, except that which forbids the Egyptians to quit their paternal profeſſions; this law ought to have exceptions: We ſee in almoſt all countries and all ages, that the greateſt men have not always had the advantage of an high birth. There are in all ſtates ſuperior genius's that would be rendered uſeleſs if confin'd to the ſphere in which they were born; in political eſtabliſhments we ſhould avoid every thing whereby nature may be conſtrain'd and genius cramp'd. The nobleſt prerogative of a King is to be able to repair the injuſtice of fortune, by doing juſtice to merit.

While a favourable wind filled the ſails, Araſpes calling to mind the notions of Zoroaſter and the Magi, diſcours'd with Cyrus upon all the wonders which are diſcoverable in the vaſt empire of the waters; of the conformation of its inhabitants, which is ſuited to their element; of the uſe of their fins, which they employ ſometimes as oars to divide the water, and ſometimes as wings to ſtop themſelves by extending them; of the delicate membranes

which

which they have in their bodies, and which they diſtend or contract, to make themſelves more or leſs heavy, according as they would go upwards or downwards in the water; of the admirable ſtructure of their eyes, which are perfectly round, to refract and unite more readily the rays of light, without which they could not ſee in the humid element. After this they diſcours'd of the beds of ſalts and bituminous matter, hid in the bottom of the ſea. The weight of each particle of theſe ſalts is regulated in ſuch a manner, that the ſun cannot draw them upwards; whence it is, that the vapours and rains which fall again upon the earth, not being overcharged with them, become plenteous ſources of freſh water. Then they reaſon'd upon the ebbing and flowing of the tide, which are not ſo diſcernible in the Great Sea as in the Ocean: of the influence of the moon which cauſes thoſe regular motions, and of the diſtance and magnitude of that planet, which are wiſely adjuſted to anſwer all our wants; if it were bigger or nearer to us, or if there were many of them, the preſſure being thereby augmented would raiſe the tides too high, and the earth would be every moment overflow'd by deluges; if there were no moon, or if it were leſs or at a greater diſtance, the Ocean would ſoon become a maſs of ſtagnated waters, and its peſtiferous exhalations diffuſing themſelves every where, would deſtroy plants, beaſts and men. At length they came to diſcourſe of that ſovereign Power, which has diſpos'd all the parts of the univerſe with ſo much ſymmetry and art.

After ſome days ſailing the veſſel enter'd the Saronic gulph, and ſoon arrived at Epidaurus, from whence the Prince made haſte to get to Sparta. This famous city was of a circular form, and reſembled a camp. It was ſituated in a wild and barren valley, through which the Eurotas flows, an impetuous river which often lays waſte the whole country by its

its inundations. This valley is hemm'd in on one ſide by inacceſſible mountains, and on the other ſide by little hills, which ſcarcely produc'd what was neceſſary to ſupply the real wants of nature. The ſituation of the country had contributed very much to the warlike and ſavage genius of its inhabitants.

As Cyrus enter'd the city he beheld only plain and uniform buildings, very different from the ſtately palaces he had ſeen in Egypt; every thing ſtill ſpoke the primitive ſimplicity of the Spartans: But their manners were upon the point of being corrupted under the reign of Ariſton and Anaxandrides, if Chilo one of the ſeven ſages of Greece had not prevented it. Theſe two Kings of the ancient race of the Heraclides, ſhared the ſovereign power between them; one govern'd the ſtate, the other commanded the troops. They receiv'd Cyrus with more politeneſs than was uſual for the Spartans to ſhew to ſtrangers. They ſeem'd to have very little curioſity about the manners, ſciences and cuſtoms of other nations, their great concern was to make the Prince of Perſia admire the wiſdom of their law-giver, and the excellence of his laws. To this end they preſented Chilo to him. This Philoſopher had by his talents acquir'd great credit with the Kings, the ſenate and the people, and was look'd upon as a ſecond Lycurgus; nothing was done at Lacedæmon without him. The Spartan Sage, in order to give Cyrus a lively notion of their laws, manners and form of government, firſt led him to the council of the Gerontes, inſtituted by Lycurgus. This council where the two Kings preſided, was held in a hall hung with matt, that the magnificence of the place might not divert the ſenators attention. It conſiſted of about forty perſons, and was not liable to that tumult and confuſion which frequently reign'd in the debates of the people at Athens.

Till

Till Lycurgus's time the Kings of Sparta had been abſolute: But Eurytion one of thoſe Kings, having yielded ſome part of his prerogatives to pleaſe the people, a republican party was thereupon form'd, which became audacious and turbulent. The Kings would have reſum'd their ancient authority, but the people would not ſuffer it; and this continual ſtruggle between oppoſite powers rent the ſtate to pieces. To eſtabliſh an equal ballance of the regal and popular power, which lean'd alternately to tyranny and anarchy, Lycurgus, in imitation of Minos, inſtituted a council of twenty eight old men, whoſe authority keeping a mean betwixt the two extremes, deliver'd Sparta from its domeſtic diſſentions. An hundred and thirty years after him, Theopompus having obſerv'd, that what had been reſolv'd by the Kings and their council, was not always agreeable to the multitude, eſtabliſh'd certain annual magiſtrates called Ephori, who were choſen by the people, and conſented in their name to whatever was determin'd by the King and Senate; each private man look'd upon theſe unanimous reſolutions as made by himſelf; and in this union of the head with the members, conſiſted the life in the body politic at Sparta.

After Lycurgus had regulated the form of government, he gave the Spartans ſuch laws as were proper to prevent the diſorders occaſion'd by avarice, ambition and love. In order to expel luxury and envy from Sparta, he reſolv'd to baniſh for ever both riches and poverty. He perſuaded his countrymen to make an equal diſtribution of all their wealth and of all their lands, decry'd the uſe of gold and ſilver, and ordain'd that they ſhould have only iron money, which was not current in foreign countries. He choſe rather to deprive the Spartans of the advantages of commerce with their neighbours, than to expoſe them to the misfortune of bringing home from

from other nations thoſe inſtruments of luxury which might corrupt them.

The more firmly to eſtabliſh an equality among the citizens, they ate together in public halls; each company had liberty to chooſe its own gueſts, and no one was admitted there but with the conſent of the whole, to the end that peace might not be diſturb'd by a difference of humours; a neceſſary precaution for men naturally fierce and warlike. Cyrus went into theſe public halls, where the men were ſeated without any diſtinction but that of their age; they were ſurrounded by children who waited on them: Their temperance and auſterity of life was ſo great, that other nations uſed to ſay, It was better to die, than to live like the Spartans. During the repaſt they diſcours'd together on grave and ſerious matters, the intereſts of their country, the lives of great men, the difference between a good and bad citizen, and of whatever might form youth to the taſte of military virtues. Their diſcourſe contain'd much ſenſe in few words, for which reaſon the Laconic ſtyle has been admir'd in all nations; by imitating the rapidity of thought, it ſaid all in a moment, and gave the hearer the pleaſure of diſcovering a profound meaning which was unexpreſs'd; the graceful, fine and delicate turns of the Athenians were unknown at Lacedæmon; the Spartans were for ſtrength in the mind as well as in the body.

Upon a ſolemn feſtival, Cyrus and Araſpes were preſent at the aſſemblies of the young Lacedæmonians, which were held within a large incloſure, ſurrounded with divers ſeats of turf rais'd one above another, in form of an amphitheater. Young girls almoſt naked contended with boys in running, wreſtling, dancing, and all ſorts of laborious exerciſes: The young men were not permitted to marry any but ſuch as they had vanquiſh'd at theſe games. Cyrus was ſhock'd to ſee the liberty which reign'd in theſe

these public assemblies, between persons of different sexes, and could not forbear representing it to Chilo. There seems, said he, to be a great inconsistency in the laws of Lycurgus; his aim was to establish a republic which should consist only of warriors, inur'd to all sorts of labours, and at the same time he made no scruple to expose them to sensuality, the most effectual means to sink their courage.

The design of Lycurgus in instituting these festivals, reply'd Chilo, was to preserve and perpetuate military virtue in his republic. That great law-giver was well acquainted with human nature; he knew what influence the inclinations and dispositions of mothers have upon their children; his intention was to make the Spartan women heroines, that they might bring the republic none but heroes. Besides, continued Chilo, gross sensuality and delicate love, are equally unknown at Lacedæmon; 'tis only in these public festivals that the familiarity which so much offends you is allow'd. Lycurgus thought it possible to deaden the fire of voluptuous desires, by accustoming the eye sometimes to those objects which excite them. At all other times the women are very reserv'd; nay by our laws new-marry'd persons are permitted to see one another but rarely, and that in private; and thus our youth are form'd to temperance and moderation, even in the most lawful pleasures. By this means also are prevented those disgusts which frequently arise from the permission of an unbounded liberty in the marriage state. The constraint which the Spartans are under keeps up the ardor of their first flame; so that marriage does not make them cease to be lovers. On the other hand, stolen amours and jealousy are banished from Sparta; husbands who are sick, or advanced in years, lend their wives to others, and afterwards take them again without scruple. Wives look upon themselves as belonging to the state more than to their husbands.

The children are educated in common, and often without knowing any other mother than the republic, or any other fathers than the senators.

Here Cyrus, struck with a lively remembrance of Cassandana and of the pure pleasures of their mutual love, sigh'd within himself, and felt an abhorrence of these odious maxims. He despis'd effeminacy, but he could not relish the savage fierceness of the Spartans, which carried them to sacrifice the sweetest charms of society to ambition, and to think that military virtues were inconsistent with tender passions; however, as he was sensible that Chilo would little understand what he meant by these delicate sentiments, he contented himself with saying: Paternal love seems to me a source of great advantages to a state: Fathers are careful of the education of their children, and this education obliges children to gratitude; these are the original bands of society. Our country is nothing else but many families united; if family-love be weaken'd, what will become of the love of one's country, which depends upon it? Ought we not to be afraid of such establishments as destroy nature, under pretence of improving it? The Spartans, answer'd Chilo, all constitute but one family. Lycurgus had experienced, that fathers are often unworthy, and children ungrateful; that both are wanting to their reciprocal duties, and he therefore trusted the education of the children to a number of old men, who, considering themselves as the common fathers, have an equal care of all.

In reality, children were no where better educated than at Sparta: They were chiefly taught to obey, to undergo labour, to conquer in combats, and to face pain and death with courage. They went with their heads and feet naked, lay upon rushes, and ate very little; and this little they were obliged to procure by dexterity in the public banqueting rooms. Not that the Spartans authorized thefts and

robberies, for as all was in common in that republic, thoſe vices could have no place there; but the deſign was to accuſtom children who were deſtin'd for war, to ſurpriſe the vigilance of thoſe who watch'd over them, and to expoſe themſelves courageouſly to the ſevereſt puniſhments, in caſe they fail'd of that dexterity which was exacted of them.

Lycurgus had remark'd, that ſubtile ſpeculations, and all the refinements of ſcience, ſerv'd often only to ſpoil the underſtanding and corrupt the heart; and he therefore made little account of them. Nothing however was neglected to awaken in children the taſte of pure reaſon, and to give them a ſtrength of judgment; but all kinds of ſtudies, which were not ſerviceable to good manners, were look'd upon as uſeleſs and dangerous occupations. The Spartans were of opinion, that in the preſent ſtate of human nature, man is form'd rather for action than knowledge, and better qualify'd for ſociety than contemplation.

Cyrus went afterwards to the Gymnaſia, where the youth perform'd their exerciſes; Lycurgus had renew'd the Olympic games inſtituted by Hercules, and had dictated to Iphitus the ſtatues and ceremonies obſerved in them. Religion, warlike genius and policy, all contributed to perpetuate the cuſtom of ſolemnizing theſe games; they ſerv'd not only to do honour to the Gods, to celebrate the virtues of heroes, to prepare the body for the fatigues of a military life, but alſo to draw together from time to time in the ſame place, and unite by common ſacrifices, divers nations whoſe ſtrength was in their union. The Spartans employ'd themſelves in no ſort of labour but the exerciſes neceſſary to qualify them to diſpute the prizes in the Olympic games. The Helots, who were their ſlaves, manur'd their lands, and were the only mechanics among them; for they eſteem'd every employment as mean and ignoble,

which regarded only a proviſion for the body.

Cyrus having learn'd this maxim of the Lacedæmonians, ſaid to Chilo: Agriculture and the mechanic arts appear to me abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve the people from idleneſs, which begets diſcord, effeminacy and all the evils deſtructive of ſociety: Lycurgus ſeems to depart a little too much from nature in all his laws. The tranquillity and ſweet leiſure of a rural life, reply'd Chilo, were thought by Lycurgus to be contrary to a warlike genius; beſides the Spartans are never idle; they are continually employ'd in all thoſe exerciſes that are images of war, in marching, encamping, ranging armies in order of battle, defending, attacking, building and deſtroying fortreſſes. By this means a noble emulation is kept up in their minds without enmity, and the deſire of conqueſt preſerved without ſhedding blood: Every one diſputes the prize with ardor, and the vanquiſh'd take a pride in crowning the victors; the pleaſures which accompany theſe exerciſes make them forget the fatigue, and this fatigue prevents their courage from ſuffering any prejudice in times of peace [a].

This diſcourſe rais'd in Cyrus a curioſity to know the military diſcipline of the Spartans, and he ſoon found an opportunity to inform himſelf in it. The Tegeans who inhabited a part of Peloponneſus, having entered into a league with ſeveral cities of Greece had raiſed troops, and were coming to attack the Spartans upon their frontiers. The latter prepared to repulſe the enemy, and Cyrus reſolved to ſignalize his courage on this occaſion, but he would firſt know the reaſons of the war, and Chilo explained them to him in the following manner.

The Spartans, ſaid he, being arrived to a flouriſhing condition by a ſtrict obſervance of the laws of Lycurgus, laid a ſcheme firſt to make themſelves maſters

[a] *See Tourreil's Pref. Hiſt. aux Phillip. de Demoſt.*

of

of Peloponnesus, and then of all Greece. Courage and success begot in them a thirst of dominion, contrary to the original design [a] of our great law-giver: His intention of forming a republic of warriors, was not to disturb the peace of other cities, but to preserve his own in union, independence and liberty. That we might never entertain the unjust ambition of making conquests, he forbad us the use of money, commerce and fleets, three helps absolutely requisite for those who set up for conquerors. The Lacedæmonians therefore departed from the spirit of Lycurgus, when they resolved to attack their neighbours; their first design was to fall upon the Arcadians, but having consulted the oracle of Delphos, the Pythian priestess advised them to turn their arms against the Tegeans. The Spartans depending on a deceitful oracle, marched out of their city, and carried chains with them in full assurance of reducing their enemies to slavery. Several battles were fought without victory's declaring for either side. At length, in the beginning of the present reign, our army was put to flight; our prisoners loaded with the same chains which we had prepared for the Tegeans, were yoaked like beasts, and condemn'd to draw the plough. The bad conduct of our princes was the source of these calamities: I should be far from discovering to you their faults if they had not had the courage to correct them.

Ariston who govern'd the state was naturally of a sweet disposition, affable and beneficent; he put an equal confidence in all those who were about him; Anaxandrides who commanded the troops was of a quite contrary character, dark, suspicious and distrustful. Prytanis the favourite of Ariston had been educated at Athens, and had given himself up to pleasure; having a great deal of fine wit, he had the

[a] *See Plutarch.*

ſecret of making even his faults agreeable; he knew how to ſuit himſelf to all taſtes, and to all characters; he was ſober with the Spartans, polite with the Athenians, and learned with the Egyptians; he put on all ſhapes by turns, not to deceive (for he was not ill-natur'd) but to gratify his prevailing paſſion, which was the deſire of pleaſing, and of being the idol of men; in a word, he was a compound of whatever is moſt agreeable and irregular; Ariſton lov'd him, and was entirely govern'd by him. This favourite led his maſter into all ſorts of voluptuouſneſs; the Spartans began to grow effeminate; the King beſtow'd his favours without diſtinction or diſcernment.

Anaxandrides obſerv'd a quite different conduct, but equally ruinous to the ſtate; as he knew not how to diſtinguiſh ſincere and honeſt hearts, he believ'd all men falſe, and that thoſe who had the appearances of probity were only greater hypocrites than the reſt. He entertain'd ſuſpicions of the beſt officers of his army, and eſpecially of Leonidas, the principal and moſt able of his generals, a man of ſtrict honour and diſtinguiſh'd bravery. Leonidas lov'd virtue ſincerely, but had not enough of it to bear with the faults of other men; he deſpis'd them too much, and was regardleſs both of their praiſes and favours; he humour'd neither princes nor their courtiers; his hatred of vice was ſuch, that it render'd his manners fierce and rugged, like thoſe of the firſt Spartans; he look'd for perfection in every body, and as he never found it, he had no intimate friendſhip with any perſon; no body lov'd him, but all eſteem'd and fear'd him; for he had all thoſe virtues which make men moſt reſpected and moſt avoided. Anaxandrides grew weary of him and baniſh'd him; thus did this Prince weaken the ſtrength of Sparta, while Ariſton corrupted her manners.

Our enemies drew advantage every day from theſe diviſions

diviſions and diſorders. Perceiving the misfortunes which threatned our country, I went to the young Princes and ſpoke to them in the following manner; My age, my long ſervices, and the care I have taken of your education, give me a right to tell you freely, that you both ruin yourſelves by contrary faults; Ariſton expoſed himſelf to be often deceiv'd by flattering favourites, and you, Anaxandrides, expoſe yourſelf to the misfortune of never having a true friend. To treat men always with the utmoſt rigour they deſerve, is brutality and not juſtice; but on the other hand to have ſo general a goodneſs, and ſuch an eaſineſs of temper as not to be able to puniſh crimes with firmneſs, or to reward merit with diſtinction, is not a virtue but a weakneſs, and is frequently attended with as bad conſequences as ſeverity and ill nature itſelf. As for you, Anaxandrides, your diſtruſt does more hurt to the ſtate than the too eaſy goodneſs of Ariſton. Why do you entertain a diffidence of men upon bare ſurmiſes, when their talents and capacities have render'd them neceſſary to you? When a Prince has once honour'd a miniſter with his confidence, for good reaſons, he ought never to withdraw it without manifeſt proofs of perfidiouſneſs. It is impoſſible for him to do every thing himſelf, and he muſt therefore have the courage to hazard ſometimes the being deceiv'd, rather than miſs the opportunities of acting; he ſhould know how to make a wiſe uſe of men, without blindly yielding himſelf up to them like Ariſton; there is a medium between an exceſſive diffidence, and a blind confidence; without this medium no government can long ſubſiſt. Reflection and experience rectify'd by degrees the faults of Ariſton, and he diſmiſs'd Prytanis; but the moroſe temper of Anaxandrides could be corrected only by misfortunes; he was often defeated in his wars with the Tegeans, and at length found the neceſſity of recalling Leonidas. Our troops

ſince that time have been more ſucceſsful; we have recovered our priſoners and obtained ſeveral victories; but theſe advantages have made the Tegeans more jealous of us, and we are become the object not only of their hatred, but of that of all the Greeks.

Cyrus liſtened with attention to this account given him by Chilo, and then ſaid to him, looking upon Araſpes: The hiſtory of your Kings will be an eternal leſſon to me, to avoid two faults very common with Princes. As for the reſt, I obſerve that the republic of Sparta is like a camp always ſubſiſting, an aſſembly of warriors always under arms; how great a reſpect ſoever I have for Lycurgus, I cannot admire this form of government. You aſſure me that your law-giver in conſtituting ſuch a republic had no other deſign but to preſerve it in union and liberty; but would a legiſlator who has only theſe pacific views baniſh from a ſtate all other profeſſions except that of war? Would he enjoin that no member of it ſhould be bred to any other exerciſe, ſtudy or occupation, but that of making himſelf dexterous in deſtroying other men? Lycurgus has indeed prohibited the uſe of money, commerce and fleets, but are theſe neceſſary to the conqueſt of Greece? I rather believe, that he made theſe prohibitions only out of policy, in order to conceal from the neighbouring cities his ambitious deſigns, hinder the Spartans from becoming ſoft and luxurious, and deprive them of the means of dividing their forces by foreign and diſtant wars [a]. Your law-giver has again departed both from nature and juſtice; when he accuſtomed each private citizen to frugality, he ſhould have taught the whole nation to confine her ambition. An able politician ought to provide not only for the liberty of his own

[a] *Polybius is of this opinion.*

ſtate,

ſtate, but for the ſafety of all the neighbouring ones. To ſet ourſelves looſe from the reſt of mankind, to look upon ourſelves as made to conquer them, is to arm all nations againſt us. Why don't you reform theſe unjuſt maxims? Why don't you put an end to the war? Why have you not recourſe to the ſupreme council of the Amphictions to terminate your differences with the Tegeans? The reaſon, reply'd Chilo, is the obſtinacy of the Tegeans; they are ſo enraged againſt us, that they refuſe to ſubmit to the arbitration of that council; they breathe nothing but our deſtruction; they have engaged ſeveral cities of Peloponneſus in a league againſt us. The notion which is entertain'd of our deſigning to conquer all Greece, has excited the hatred and diſtruſt of our neighbours. Such is the preſent ſtate of Sparta.

Not many days after this, the Lacedæmonians having advice that the Tegeans were advancing towards their frontiers, marched out of Sparta to give them battle. Anaxandrides appeared at their head in his military habit, his caſque was adorned with three birds, of which that in the middle was the creſt, upon his cuiraſs he bore the head of Meduſa, all the inſignia of the God Mars were repreſented upon his ſhield, which was an hexagon; and he held in his hand a ſtaff of command. Cyrus marched by his ſide; his buckler reſembled that of Achilles; upon his caſque was an eagle, whoſe plume and tail overſpread his ſhoulders; upon his cuiraſs was engraven in bas-relief the Goddeſs Pallas wiſe and warlike, to expreſs the inclinations of the Prince. Araſpes and Leonidas leſs magnificently accoutred accompanied the two Princes, who thus left the city followed by the Lacedæmonian troops. The whole army formed into a ſquare battalion, a double rank of cavalry incloſed a third rank of archers, which encompaſs'd three inner ranks of pike-

men and ſlingers, and left an empty ſpace in the centre for the proviſions, ammunition and baggage. All the ſoldiers marched to the ſound of flutes, and ſinging the hymn of Caſtor. The Spartan general knowing how fond the Prince of Perſia was of information, entertain'd him in the way after the following manner.

Greece is divided into ſeveral republics, each of which maintains an army in proportion to its extent. We do not affect to bring prodigious armies into the field like the Aſiaticks, but to have well-diſciplin'd troops; numerous bodies are difficult to manage, and are too expenſive to a ſtate; our invariable rule is to encamp ſo, that we may never be oblig'd to fight againſt our will; a ſmall army well practis'd in war may, by entrenching itſelf advantageouſly, oblige a very numerous one to diſperſe its troops, which would otherwiſe ſoon be deſtroyed for want of proviſions. When the common cauſe of Greece is to be defended, all theſe ſeparate bodies unite, and then no ſtate dares attack us. At Lacedæmon all the citizens are ſoldiers; in other republics, the dregs of the people are not admitted into the ſoldiery, but the beſt men are choſen out for the army, ſuch as are bold, robuſt, in the flower of their age, and inur'd to laborious occupations; the qualities required in their leaders are birth, intrepidity, temperance and experience; they are obliged to paſs through the moſt rigid trials, before they can be rais'd to a command; they muſt have given ſignal proofs of all the different ſorts of courage, by greatly enterpriſing, executing with vigour, and above all by ſhewing themſelves ſuperior to the moſt adverſe fortune. By this means each republic has always a regular militia, able officers, ſoldiers well diſciplin'd and inur'd to fatigues. The Spartans in time of war abate ſomewhat of the ſeverity of their exerciſes and auſterity of life; we

are

are the only people in the world to whom war is a kind of repoſe; we then enjoy all thoſe pleaſures which are forbidden us in time of peace. Upon a day of battle we diſpoſe our troops in ſuch a manner, that they do not all fight at once like the Egyptians, but ſucceed and ſupport one another without confuſion. We never draw up our men in the ſame manner as the enemy, and we always place our braveſt ſoldiers in the wings, that they may extend themſelves and encloſe the oppoſite army. When the enemy is routed, Lycurgus has required us to exerciſe all acts of clemency towards the vanquiſhed, not only out of humanity but policy; for hereby we render our enemies leſs fierce. The hope of being well treated if they ſurrender their arms, prevents their giving way to that deſperate fury which often proves fatal to the victorious.

While Leonidas was ſpeaking, they arrived in the plain of Mantinea, where they diſcovered the camp of the Tegeans, which was covered on one ſide by a foreſt, and on all the other by a terraſs, with parapets, paliſadoes and towers at certain diſtances. Anaxandrides encamped on the banks of the river Eurotas: Leonidas gave orders, and immediately the ſoldiers hung their caſques on their pikes ſtuck in the ground, and fell to work without putting off their cuiraſſes. The river made the camp inacceſſible on one ſide, the other three were ſurrounded by lines of circumvallation; the waters of the Eurotas quickly filled the ditches; portable houſes were erected, the different quarters of the officers regularly diſpoſed, the cavalry put under ſhelter, a moveable city was rais'd with four gates, ſeveral large ſtreets croſs'd one another, and had likewiſe a communication by others that were leſs.

The river Eurotas ran between the two camps, and was a ſecurity againſt any ſurpriſe: Leonidas took this opportunity to ſhew Cyrus the military

exercise in use among the Greeks, and made his troops often pass in review before the Prince: They were divided into divers bodies of horse and foot; at their head were the Polemarchi, and the commanders of the several corps. The soldiers were cloath'd in red, that in the heat of action the sight of their blood might not terrify either the wounded or their companions [b]. Upon the least signal of their commanders, the different cohorts separated, reunited, extended themselves, doubled, opened, closed their ranks and ranged themselves by various evolutions and windings into perfect squares, oblong squares, lozenges and triangular figures.

The Spartans waited several days in their camp to take advantage of the enemy's motions. In the mean time divisions arose among the allies; the wisest of them desired peace, but the greater number were eagerly bent on war. Cyrus understanding their dispositions, offered to go in person to the camp of the Tegeans, and speak with their leaders. The King consented, and the young Prince pass'd the Eurotas, and advanced to the confederates; their chief officers assembled about him, and he addressed them in the following manner.

People of Greece, I am a stranger, the desire of knowing your laws, sciences and military discipline has engaged me to travel among you. Your wit is every where extolled, but I cannot admire your wisdom. The Spartans wou'd be much in the wrong to make any attempt upon your liberties, but neither is it just in you to endeavour their destruction. They are not afraid of war, they love fatigues and dangers, and are prepared for all events; but they don't refuse to grant you peace upon honourable conditions. I understand that you have in Greece a wise council, whose business it is to ter-

[b] *A remark of Ælianus.*

minate

minate the differences that arise between your cities. Why have you not recourse to this council? The mutual war you make upon each other, and your domestic jealousies, will weaken you by degrees, and you will fall a prey to some conqueror emboldened by your divisions.

All the old men looked upon one another while he was speaking, and seemed to approve of what he said; their General on the contrary fearing lest the Prince's advice should be followed, murmured within himself; he was a young impetuous hero, a martial fire sparkled in his eyes, he had a sprightly, masculine and captivating eloquence, capable of inspiring courage into the most timorous. When Cyrus had done speaking he raised his voice and answered him thus. Whoever you are, O stranger, you are unacquainted with the boundless ambition of the Spartans; their fundamental constitution tends to destroy all the neighbouring states. Lycurgus their law-giver laid the foundations in Lacedæmon of an universal monarchy, and inspired his countrymen with a desire of domination, under pretence that Greece cannot maintain her freedom and independency while divided into so many petty republicks. Ever since that time the avaritious Spartans are greedy of what they have not, while they refuse themselves the enjoyment of what they have: When they are weakened and brought low, they moderate their ambitious desires; but they have no sooner recovered their strength, than they return to their old maxims; we can have no security but in their total destruction. Scarce had he pronounced these words, when a confused murmur rose among the soldiers, the fire of discord was kindled anew in their breasts, and they all cried out, war, war, let the Spartans be destroyed.

Cyrus perceiving the fury which animated them, and that they would no longer hearken to him, returned

turned to the camp of the Lacedæmonians. They immediately called a council of war, and it was resolved to attack the enemy in their entrenchments. Cyrus offered to pass the river at the head of a chosen body of cavalry, and this being agreed to, he waited for night to put his design in execution; he pass'd without any opposition; and at break of day the infantry followed him on rafts and buck-skin boats. The Tegeans taking the alarm left their camp and drew up in battalia. The two armies advanced with their pikes ported, each phalanx in the closest order, buckler stuck to buckler, helmet to helmet, man to man; the battle began; the left wing of the Lacedæmonians commanded by Cyrus quickly broke the right wing of the Tegeans; Araspes pursued the fugitives warmly, and put them out of a condition to rally; they fled to a neighbouring fortress. Cyrus returned with his troops to sustain the centre of the Spartan army which began to give way; but while he was putting the enemy into disorder, the right wing of the Spartans fled before the left of the allies; Leonidas who commanded it gained an eminence, from which he could discover all that passed; when he saw the happy success of Cyrus's skill and bravery, he encouraged his men, rally'd them and return'd to charge the enemy. The Tegeans finding themselves attacked both in front and rear, dispersed and fled, and were almost all cut in pieces or taken prisoners: The few that escaped in the night took refuge in the same fortress with the others.

The battering engines and other machines, which have since been used in attacking of towns, were not then known to the Greeks; on these occasions they disposed their men in a certain form which they called a Tortoise [c]. The next day Leonidas gave

[c] Χελώνη, *invented by Artemon of Clazomene.*

the

the word of command, the Spartans drew up and marched to the fortreſs; the foremoſt ranks covered themſelves with their ſquare bucklers, the reſt rais'd them over their heads, preſſed them againſt one another, and then gradually bending formed a kind of ſloping roof impenetrable to arrows. A triple ſtage of this ſort rais'd the aſſailants to the height of the walls. The beſieged rain'd down a ſhower of ſtones and darts; but in the end the beſiegers made themſelves maſters of the fortreſs. Four thouſand Tegeans were ſlain in the two actions, and three thouſand taken priſoners.

After the battle a new council of war was call'd. Leonidas by the King's order made encomiums upon Cyrus in preſence of all the commanders, and aſcrib'd the victory to his conduct and courage. All the ſoldiers ſent up ſhouts of joy, and looked upon the Prince of Perſia as a divine man ſent by the Gods to ſave Sparta in her weak and tottering condition. It was afterwards propoſed in the council to carry the Tegean priſoners to Lacedæmon, and to treat them like ſlaves as they had done the Spartans. Cyrus then roſe up in the midſt of the aſſembly, a divine fire darted from his eyes, wiſdom deſcended into his heart, and he ſaid: You are going, in my opinion, to violate one of the principal and wiſeſt laws of Lycurgus; he has enjoin'd you to treat the vanquiſh'd with clemency; the right of conqueſt even in a lawful war is the leaſt of all rights, and is never juſt but when it is made uſe of to render the conquer'd happy. A conqueror who ſeeks only to domineer, ought to be deem'd an uſurper upon the rights of nations, and an enemy of mankind who ſports with their miſeries to gratify his brutal and unnatural paſſions. 'Tis by reaſon alone that man ſhould ſubdue man; no one deſerves to be a King but he who engages in the toils of empire, and ſubjects himſelf to the ſlavery of governing

ing purely out of compaſſion to men incapable of governing themſelves. If therefore you deſire to become maſters of Greece, let it be only by ſhewing yourſelves more humane, and more moderate than all the other cities. The reſt of the Grecian ſtates, when they ſee your wiſdom, your courage, and your excellent laws, will be eager to put themſelves under your protection, and with emulation ſue to be receiv'd as members of your republic. It is by this means that you will ſweeten all minds, and captivate all hearts. Anaxandrides influenced by this diſcourſe granted peace, on condition that the Tegeans ſhould for the future be tributary to Lacedæmon. He detained the chief men among them as hoſtages, and carried them to Lacedæmon, where he granted them all the privileges of citizens.

Cyrus at his return to Sparta revolved in his mind all that he had ſeen and heard, and formed great ideas relating to the art of war, which he reſolv'd to improve one day in Perſia. After he had thoroughly ſtudied the laws, manners and military diſcipline of the Spartans, he left Lacedæmon to viſit the other republics of Greece. Chilo and Leonidas conducted him to the frontiers of their country. He ſwore an eternal friendſhip to them, and promis'd to be always a faithful ally of their republic; and he was true to his word, for the Perſians had never any war with the Greeks in that conqueror's time.

Cyrus reſolv'd before he left Peloponneſus, to viſit all its principal cities. He went firſt to Argos, then to Mycenæ, afterwards to Sicyon, and at length ſtopt at Corinth, which was the moſt flouriſhing republic of Greece, after thoſe of Sparta and Athens. As he enter'd the town, he beheld with ſurpriſe all the people in mourning; ſeveral players upon flutes marched at the head of a funeral proceſſion, and increaſed the public ſorrow by their plaintive ſounds:

Forty

Forty young girls bare-footed, their hair diſhevel'd, and cloathed in long white robes ſurrounded the bier, and melted into tears while they ſung the praiſes of the dead; a little after followed the ſoldiers with a ſlow pace, a ſorrowful air, their eyes upon the ground and their pikes revers'd; at their head marched a venerable old man; his noble and military air, his tall and majeſtic ſtature, and the bitter grief that was painted upon his face, drew the attention of Cyrus. The young Prince having asked his name, underſtood that it was King Periander, who was conducting his ſon Lycophron to his tomb.

Cyrus and Araſpes join'd themſelves with the crowd, which was going to a fortreſs call'd Acro-Corinthus; it was built upon the ſummit of an high mountain, from whence might be ſeen the Ægean and Ionian ſeas; for which reaſon it was call'd The Eye of Greece. Being come to the fortreſs, which was the burial place of the Kings, Periander firſt of all pour'd wine, milk and honey upon the body of his ſon; he then lighted with his own hands the funeral pile, upon which had been pour'd incenſe, aromatics and odoriferous oyls; he remained mute, immoveable, and with his eyes drown'd in tears, while the devouring flames conſumed the body; after having ſprinkled the yet ſmoaking aſhes with perfumed liquors, he gathered them together into a golden urn, and then making a ſign to the people that he was going to ſpeak, he thus broke ſilence. People of Corinth, the Gods themſelves have taken care to revenge you of my uſurpation, and to deliver you from ſlavery; Lycophron is dead, my whole race is extinct, I will reign no longer; countrymen, reſume your rights and your liberties. As ſoon as he had ſaid theſe words, he order'd all the aſſembly to retire, cut off his hair to denote his ſorrow, and ſhut himſelf up in the tomb with his ſon. Cyrus being extremely affected with this ſight, was very

deſirous

desirous to learn the reason of it, and he received the following account; [d] Corinth was at first govern'd by Kings, but monarchy being abolished, Prytanes or annual magistrates were establish'd in their place. This popular government continued for a whole age, and Corinth was daily increasing in wealth and splendor, when Cypselus the father of Periander, usurp'd the regal authority. Having reign'd above thirty years, and his passions being satisfy'd, he began to be troubled with remorse. Reason resum'd its empire, he reflected with horror upon the crime he had committed, and resolved to free the Corinthians from their slavery; but death prevented him. A little before he expired, he called Periander to him, and made him swear to restore his countrymen their liberty. The young Prince blinded by his ambition quickly forgot his oath; and this was the source of all his misfortunes. The Corinthians sought to dethrone him, and rose in arms against him several times; but he subdu'd the rebels, and strengthen'd his authority more and more. His first wife being dead, he in order to secure himself against these popular insults, courted an alliance with Melissa heiress of Arcadia, and married her; she was the most beautiful Princess of her time, a woman of consummate virtue and great courage.

Several years after this marriage, Periander declared war against the Corcyreans, and put himself at the head of his troops. The Corinthians in his absence revolted anew. Melissa shut herself up in the fortress, vigorously sustained the siege of it, and sent to demand succour of Procles tyrant of Epidaurus, who had always seem'd a faithful ally of Periander. Procles, who had long form'd a project of extending his dominion over all Greece, took

[d] *See Herod. lib. 3. and Diog. Laertius's life of Periander.*

advantage

advantage of this juncture to seize upon Corinth; he consider'd it as a city very proper to be the capital of a great empire; he came before it with a numerous army, and made himself master of it in a few days. Melissa who was ignorant of his designs, open'd the gates of the fortress, and received him as her deliverer, and the friend of her husband. The tyrant seeing himself Master of Corinth, establish'd his residence there, and gave Periander to understand that he must content himself with reigning at Corcyra, which this Prince had just conquered.

Melissa quickly found that usurpation was not the only crime of which Procles was guilty. He had entertain'd a violent passion for her, and he try'd all means to satisfy it: After having in vain employed both caresses and threatnings, he inhumanly caus'd her to be shut up with her son Lycophron in a high tower, situated upon the borders of the sea. In the mean while Periander was inform'd of Procles's treachery, and of his love for Melissa; he was at the same time assur'd, that she had not only favoured the perfidious designs of the tyrant, but that she answered his passion. The King of Corinth listened too readily to these calumnies; possess'd with the rage of jealousy he equipped a great fleet, and embarked for Corinth before Procles could put himself in a posture of defence. He was just entring the port when a violent storm rose and dispers'd his ships. Melissa knew not the sentiments of Periander, and was already blessing the Gods for her approaching deliverance, when she saw part of the fleet perish before her eyes; the rest being driven on the coast of Africa were there cast away; the only vessel that escap'd the fury of the tempest, was that where Periander was on board.

He return'd to Corcyra, where he fell into a deep melancholy; his courage had enabled him to bear

up

up under the loſs of his dominions, but he could not ſupport the thoughts of Meliſſa's imagin'd crime. He had lov'd her, and her only; he ſunk under the weight of his grief, and his mind was diſturbed to a degree of diſtraction.

In the mean while Meliſſa, who was ſtill ſhut up in the tower, believ'd Periander dead, and wept bitterly for him; ſhe ſaw herſelf expos'd afreſh to the inſults of a barbarous Prince, who could commit the greateſt crimes without horror. While ſhe was imploring the help of the Gods, and conjuring them to protect her innocence, the perſon under whoſe charge Procles had left her, being touch'd with her misfortunes, inform'd her that Periander was living, and offer'd to conduct her with her ſon to him. They all three eſcap'd and travelling in the night thro' by-ways got in a few days out of the territory of Corinth; but they wander'd long upon the coaſt of the Ionian ſea, before they could paſs over to Corcyra. Procles mad with rage and deſpair at the eſcape of the Queen, contriv'd means to confirm Periander in his ſuſpicions, and to make him believe that Meliſſa who would very ſoon be with him intended to poiſon him. The unfortunate King of Corinth liſten'd with greedineſs to every thing that cou'd inflame his jealouſy, and increaſe his rage.

In the mean while Meliſſa and Lycophron arriv'd with their conductor in Corcyra, and haſten'd to ſee Periander; he was not in his palace, but in a gloomy foreſt, whither he often retir'd to indulge his grief: He no ſooner perceiv'd the Queen at a great diſtance, but it awaken'd all his jealouſy and made him furious; he ran towards her; ſhe ſtretch'd out her arms to receive him, but as ſoon as he came near her, he drew his dagger and plunged it in her boſom. She fell with theſe words, Ah Periander! is it thus you reward my love and my fidelity? She would have proceeded, but death put an end to all her misfortunes,

tunes, and her ſoul flew away to the Elyſian fields, there to receive the recompence of her virtue. Lycophron beheld his mother weltring in her blood, he burſt into tears and cried out: Revenge, juſt Gods, revenge the death of an innocent mother, upon a barbarous father, whom nature forbids me to puniſh! This ſaid, he ran away into the wood, reſolving never to ſee his father more. The faithful Corinthian who had accompany'd the Queen and Prince to Corcyra, let Periander then know the innocence and fidelity of Meliſſa, and all the miſeries which Procles had made her ſuffer in her impriſonment.

The wretched King perceiv'd his credulity too late, gave way to his deſpair, and wou'd have ſtabb'd himſelf with the ſame poignard, but was prevented; he threw himſelf upon the body of Meliſſa, and often repeated theſe words: Great Jupiter! compleat by thy thunderbolts the puniſhments which men hinder me from finiſhing! Ah Meliſſa! Meliſſa! ought the tendereſt love to have concluded thus with the moſt barbarous cruelty? It was with great difficulty he was forc'd away from that fatal place and led to his palace; he continued to refuſe all conſolation, and reproach'd his friends with cruelty, for ſeeking to preſerve a life which he deteſted. There was no way to quiet his mind but by repreſenting to him that he alone could puniſh the crimes of Procles; this hope ſooth'd the anguiſh of his ſoul, and he grew calm. He went among all his allies, repreſenting his misfortunes and the uſurper's crimes; the Thebans lent him troops, he beſieg'd Corinth, took Procles priſoner, and ſacrific'd him upon Meliſſa's tomb. But Lycophron remain'd ſtill at Corcyra, and refus'd to return to Corinth, that he might not ſee a father who was the murderer of a virtuous mother, whom he had tenderly lov'd. Periander dragged on the reſt of his unhappy life without enjoying his grandeur, he had ſtabbed a wife whom he ador'd; he

he lov'd a ſon who could not endure the ſight of him. At length he reſolved to lay down his royalty, crown his ſon, and retire into the iſland of Corcyra, there for ever to lament his misfortunes, and expiate in retirement the crimes he had committed. With theſe views he order'd a veſſel to Corcyra to bring Lycophron to Corinth. The King impatient for his ſon's arrival, went often to the ſea-ſide, the ſhip at length appear'd, Periander ran with eagerneſs upon the ſhore to embrace his only ſon, but how great was his ſurpriſe and grief, when he beheld Lycophron in a coffin! The Corcyreans groaning under the yoke of Periander, whoſe cruelties they abhorr'd, had revolted; and to extinguiſh for ever the Tyrant's race, thoſe barbarous iſlanders had aſſaſſinated the young Prince, and had ſent his dead body in the veſſel, as a teſtimony of their eternal hatred. Periander ſtruck with this ſad ſpectacle enter'd deeply into himſelf, diſcern'd the wrath of heaven and cried out, I have violated the oath made to a dying father; I have refus'd to reſtore liberty to my countrymen. O Meliſſa! O Lycophron! O vengeful Gods! I have but too well deſerv'd all theſe calamities which overwhelm me! He then appointed a pompous funeral, and commanded all the people to be preſent at it: Some days after he order'd two ſlaves to go by night to a certain place, and kill the firſt man they ſhould meet, and then throw his body into the ſea; the King went thither himſelf and was murder'd; his body could never be found to receive the honours of burial, nor could his ſhade which wanders upon the banks of Styx ever enter the manſion of heroes. What a dreadful ſeries of crimes and misfortunes! The husband ſtabs his wife, rebellious ſubjects aſſaſſinate their Prince, the tyrant procures his own murder, and the avenging juſtice of the Gods purſues him beyond the grave. How dreadful a ſpectacle, and how inſtructive a leſſon for Cyrus! He made haſte to leave a place ſo full of horror.

THE

THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

FIFTH BOOK.

CYRUS leaving Corinth and croſſing Bœotia, enter'd Attica, and ſoon after arriv'd at Athens, where Piſiſtratus then reign'd: The young Prince was ſeiz'd with admiration when he beheld the edifices, temples and ſplendid riches of a city where the liberal arts flouriſh'd; he came at length to the King's palace: It was of a noble but plain kind of architecture; all the ornaments of the building ſeem'd neceſſary parts of it; upon the freezes were repreſented, in bas-relief, the labours of Hercules, the exploits of Theſeus, the birth of Pallas and the death of Codrus. A vaſt portico of pillars of the Ionic order, led into a great gallery adorn'd with paintings, braſs and marble ſtatues, and with every thing which could engage the eye and charm the ſight.

Piſiſtratus receiv'd the Prince with joy, and made him ſit down by him: The principal ſenators with ſeveral young Athenians, ſeated themſelves round them upon rich carpets. A magnificent repaſt according to the mode of the country, was ſerv'd up: The moſt delicious wines were poured into golden cups finely wrought, but the Athenian politeneſs which

which ſeaſon'd the converſation of Piſiſtratus, was the principal delicacy of the feaſt. During the regale the King entertain'd Cyrus with a general account of the revolutions which had happen'd in the ſtate in his time; of his exile, misfortunes and reſtauration, after having been twice dethron'd. He dexterouſly painted forth in the moſt odious colours all the diſorders of a popular government, that he might create an abhorrence of it. He ſeaſon'd his diſcourſe with hiſtorical remarks and lively ſtroaks of wit, which delighted all the aſſembly. Thus Piſiſtratus artfully made uſe of the charms of converſation, and of the freedom uſual at banquets, to confirm his authority and gain the good will of the Athenians. The ſenators and young men who heard him, ſeem'd to forget their natural averſion to monarchy. Cyrus by this example perceiv'd with pleaſure the empire which Princes, by their amiable qualities, may gain over the hearts even of thoſe who are the greateſt enemies to their power.

The next day Cyrus ſignify'd to Piſiſtratus, his impatience to be acquainted with Solon, whoſe reputation was ſpread over all Aſia. This Philoſopher after his travels, had refus'd at firſt to return to Athens, becauſe Piſiſtratus had got himſelf declared King; but having underſtood with how much wiſdom and moderation he govern'd, he was reconciled to him. The Sage had choſen his habitation upon Mars-Hill, where was held the famous council of Areopagus, near the tomb of the Amazons. Piſiſtratus would himſelf conduct the young Prince thither, and preſent him to the Athenian law-giver. Solon, tho' in a very advanc'd age, ſtill preſerv'd the remains of his ſprightly genius, that chearfulneſs and thoſe beauties of the mind which never grow old. He embraced Cyrus with that affectionate tenderneſs which is natural to old men, when young perſons ſeek their counſels and converſation in order to learn

wiſdom. Piſiſtratus knowing that the Prince's deſign in viſiting Solon, was to inform himſelf thoroughly of the Athenian laws, retir'd and left them alone.

That they might diſcourſe with the greater liberty, and more agreeably, the ſage conducted him to the top of the hill, where they found a delightful verdure, and ſeated themſelves at the foot of a ſacred oak. From this place they beheld the fertile plains and craggy mountains of Attica, which bounded the view on one ſide with an agreeable mixture of every thing moſt ſmiling and wild in nature: On the other ſide the Saronic gulph widening by degrees, open'd a proſpect of ſeveral iſlands which appear'd to float upon the waves. At a greater diſtance the riſing coaſts of Argolis ſeem'd to loſe themſelves in the clouds, while the Great Sea, which look'd as if it touch'd the skies, terminated the view and reliev'd the eye, weary with ſurveying ſo great a variety of objects. Below was the city of Athens, which extended itſelf upon the declivity of a hill; the numerous buildings roſe one above another, and their different ſtructure ſhew'd the different ages of the republic; its firſt ſimplicity in the heroic ages, and its riſing magnificence in the time of Solon: In one part might be ſeen temples with ſacred groves, magnificent palaces with gardens, and a great number of ſtately houſes of a regular architecture: In another a great many towers, high walls and little irregular buildings, which diſcover'd the warlike and ruſtic taſte of ancient times. The river Iliſſus which flow'd near the city, and winded thro' the meadows, added a thouſand natural beauties to thoſe of art. It was in this agreeable place that Cyrus deſir'd Solon to give him an account of the ſtate of Greece, and particularly of Athens; and the wiſe law-giver ſatisfy'd his curioſity in the following manner.

All the Grecian families are deſcended from Hellen, ſon of Deucalion, whoſe three children gave

their names to the three nations of Greeks, the Æolians, Dorians and Ionians. These built themselves several cities, and from those cities came Hercules, Theseus, Minos, and all those first heroes to whom divine honours are paid, in order to shew that virtue can be fully rewarded only in heaven. Egypt first inspir'd the Greeks with a taste for arts and sciences, initiated them into her mysteries, and gave them both Gods and laws. Greece being thus civiliz'd, form'd herself by degrees into several republics. The supreme council of the Amphictions, compos'd of the deputies of the principal cities, united them all in the same view, which was to preserve independence abroad, and union at home. This excellent conduct kept them clear of an unbridled licentiousness, and inspir'd them with the love of a liberty regulated by laws, but these pure maxims did not always subsist: every thing degenerates among men; wisdom and virtue have their vicissitudes in the body politic, as health and strength have in the natural.

Among all these republics, Athens and Lacedæmon are without comparison the principal. The character of Athens is wit, elegance, politeness, all the amiable and social virtues. That of the Spartans is fortitude, temperance, military virtue, and reason stript of all ornament. The Athenians love the sciences and pleasures, their great propensity is to voluptuousness. The life of the Spartans is laborious and severe; all their passions have a turn to ambition. From the different genius of these nations have proceeded the different forms and revolutions of their governments. Lycurgus followed the austerity of his natural temper, and consulted the savage fierceness of his fellow-citizens in his reformations at Lacedæmon: He considered the happiness of his country as placed in conquest and dominion; and upon that plan form'd all the laws of Sparta,

Sparta, in which you have been instructed: It was impossible for me to imitate him.

Athens in the beginning had Kings, but they were such only in name, and not absolute as at Lacedæmon The genius of the Athenians was so different from that of the Lacedæmonians, that it made regal power insupportable to them. The authority of their Kings being almost wholly confin'd to the command of their armies, vanish'd in time of peace: We reckon ten from Cecrops to Theseus, and seven from Theseus to Codrus, who made a sacrifice of himself to the safety of his country: His children Medon and Nileus disputed for the throne. The Athenians took this occasion to abolish intirely the regal power, and declared Jupiter sole King of Athens; a specious pretext to favour rebellion, and to shake off the yoke of all settled authority. In the place of Kings, they created perpetual governors, under the name of Archons; but even this faint image of royalty appear'd odious. That they might not leave so much as a shadow of regal power, they establish'd Decennial Archons; nor was their restless humour yet satisfy'd: They reduced the duration of these magistracies to one year, that they might the oftner take into their own hands the supreme authority, which they never transferr'd to their magistrates but with regret. So limited a power was but ill qualify'd to keep such restless spirits within bounds; factions, intrigues and cabals sprung up every day: Each man with a book of laws in his hands, was for disputing about the sense of them. Men of the most lively imaginations are commonly the least solid, and the most apt to create broils; they think every thing due to their superficial talents: Under pretence that all men are born equal, they endeavour to confound all ranks and preach up a chimerical equality, only that they themselves may get the ascendant. The council of Arcopagus, instituted by Cecrops, reve-

renced throughout all Greece, and so famous for its integrity, that the Gods are said to have respected its decisions, had no longer any authority: The people judg'd of every thing in the last resort, but their resolutions were not fix'd and steady, because the multitude is always humoursome and inconstant. The smallest umbrages heighten'd the presumption, provok'd the folly, and arm'd the fury of a multitude corrupted by an excessive liberty. Athens continu'd thus a long time under an impossibility of extending her dominion; happy in being able to preserve herself from total destruction, amidst dissentions which rent her in pieces. Such was the situation of my country when I undertook to remedy its calamities.

[a] In my first years I gave myself up to luxury, intemperance and all the passions of youth, and was cur'd of them by the love of science, for which the Gods had given me a taste from my infancy. I apply'd myself to the study of morality and policy, in which I found charms that soon gave me a disgust for a loose and disorderly life. The intoxication of my passions being dispel'd by serious reflections, I beheld with concern the sad condition of my country; I turn'd my thoughts to provide a remedy, and communicated my scheme to Pisistratus, who was likewise come off from the follies of youth. You see, said I to him, the miseries which threaten us: An unbridled licentiousness has taken the place of true liberty; you are descended from Cecrops, and I from Codrus: We have more right to pretend to the royal power than any other, but let us take care not to aspire to it. It would be a dangerous exchange of passions, to forsake sensuality, which hurts only ourselves, in order to pursue ambition, which might be the ruin of our country: Let us endeavour

[a] *Plut. Life of Solon.*

to

to be ſerviceable to her without attempting to bring her under our dominion.

An occaſion ſoon preſented to facilitate my projects. The Athenians choſe me to be chief of an expedition againſt the Megarians, who had ſeiz'd the iſland of Salamis. I embark'd with five hundred men, made a deſcent upon the iſland, took the city, and drove away the enemy. They ſtill inſiſted on the juſtice of their pretenſions, and choſe the Lacedæmonians to be judges of it: I pleaded the common cauſe and gain'd it. Having by theſe actions acquir'd credit among my countrymen, they preſs'd me to accept of the regal dignity, but I refus'd it, and apply'd myſelf to cure the publick evils in quality of Archon.

The firſt ſource of all thoſe evils was the exceſſive power of the people. Monarchical authority moderated by a ſenate, was the primitive form of government in all wiſe nations. I was deſirous to imitate Lycurgus in the eſtabliſhment of it, but was too well acquainted with the natural temper of my countrymen to undertake it. I knew that if they ſuffer'd themſelves to be ſtripp'd of the ſovereign power, they would ſoon take it back again by open violence; I therefore contented myſelf with ſetting bounds to it. I was thoroughly ſenſible that no ſtate can ſubſiſt without ſome ſubordination: I diſtributed the people into four claſſes, and choſe an hundred men out of each claſs, whom I added to the council of Areopagus; I ſhew'd theſe chiefs that ſovereign authority of what kind ſoever is but a neceſſary evil for preventing greater evils; and that it ought only to be employ'd to reſtrain mens paſſions. I repreſented to the people the miſchiefs they had ſuffer'd by giving themſelves up to their own fury: By this means I diſpos'd the one to command with moderation, and the other to obey with readineſs.

I caused those to be punish'd severely who taught, that all men are born equal, that merit only ought to regulate ranks, and that the greatest merit a man can have is wit. I made the Athenians sensible of the fatal consequences of such false maxims. I prov'd to them that the natural equality, which those men talk'd of, is a chimera founded upon the poetical fables of the companions of Cadmus and the children of Deucalion; that there never was a time, in which men rose in that manner out of the earth, in a state of perfect manhood; that it was ridiculous to offer the sports of the imagination for principles; that ever since the golden age, the order of generation had made a necessary dependence and inequality among men; and lastly, that paternal authority had been the first model of all governments. I made a law by which every man who had given no other proof of his good sense, than lively sallies of imagination, florid discourses, and the talent of talking upon all subjects, without going to the bottom of any thing, was declar'd incapable of public employments.

Here Cyrus interrupted Solon, and said to him: But after all, methinks merit is what ought to make the distinction among men. Wit is the lowest sort of merit, because it is always dangerous when alone; but wisdom, virtue and valour give a natural right to govern. He alone ought to command others who has most wisdom to discover what is just, most virtue to adhere to it, and most courage to put it in execution. Merit, reply'd Solon, essentially distinguishes men, and ought solely to determine ranks; but ignorance and passions often hinder us from discerning it; self-love makes each man pretend to it; the most deserving are the most modest, and never seek to rule. Besides, that which appears to be virtue, is sometimes nothing but a deceitful mask. Disputes, discord and illusion would be endless, if there

was not some rule more fix'd, certain and palpable than merit alone, whereby to settle ranks and degrees. These ranks are regulated in small republics by election, and in great monarchies by birth. I confess it is an evil to grant dignities where there is no real merit, but it is a necessary evil, and this necessity makes the difference between the natural and civil right: The one is always conformable to the most perfect justice, the other is often unjust in the consequences, but is necessary to prevent confusion.

It was not so [d] under the reign of Saturn; in that golden age God was the universal Prince and common Father of all; he himself took care of the sustenance of men and govern'd them; he was their guardian and shepherd; there were then no magistrates nor civil polity as now, every one follow'd THE LAW WHICH IS, and not that WHICH HAS BEEN MADE. Under the reign of Jupiter, the master of the universe having, as it were, quitted the reins of his empire hid himself in an inaccessible retreat, the foundations of the world were shaken by motions contrary to its principle and its end, and it lost its beauty and its lustre; then it was that good and evil were mingled together; ignorance and passions made civil laws and civil magistrates necessary; these laws are often imperfect, and these magistrates are not always good; but we are obliged to observe the one and submit to the other, lest the world should fall into perpetual anarchy. All men are brethren and each man has a right to whatever he has need of; they are children of the same father, and no one shou'd lord it over another; but if there were not laws establish'd to settle ranks and property among men, the avarice and ambition of the strongest wou'd invade all: These laws are not always founded upon

[d] *See Disc. p.* 43.

what is beſt in itſelf, but upon what is leaſt miſchievous to ſociety. Such is the ſource of almoſt all political eſtabliſhments. Aſtrea muſt return upon earth before merit alone will determine the fortunes of men; at preſent we muſt often content ourſelves with leſs equitable deciſions. Ranks and dignities are, after all, but the ſhadows of real grandeur: The external reſpect which is paid to them, is likewiſe but the ſhadow of that eſteem which belongs to virtue alone. Is it not an inſtance of great wiſdom in the firſt law-givers, to have preſerv'd order in ſociety by eſtabliſhing ſuch regulations, that thoſe who have only the ſhadow of virtue are ſatisfy'd with the ſhadow of eſteem?

I underſtand you, ſaid Cyrus, ſovereignty and ranks are neceſſary evils to keep the paſſions within bounds. The lower ſort ſhould be content with meriting the internal eſteem of men, by their plain and modeſt virtue; and the great ſhould be perſuaded that nothing but outward homage will be paid them unleſs they have true merit. By this means the one ſort will not be dejected or repine at their low condition, nor the other pride themſelves in their grandeur; men will become ſenſible that Kings are neceſſary, and Kings will not forget that they are men; each man will keep himſelf within his own ſphere, and the order of ſociety will not be diſturb'd. I ſee clearly the beauty of this principle, and am very impatient to know your other laws.

The ſecond ſource of the miſeries of Athens, ſaid Solon, was the exceſſive riches of ſome, and the extreme poverty of others; this terrible inequality in a popular government, occaſion'd eternal diſcord: I durſt not attempt to remedy this miſchief by eſtabliſhing a community of goods as at Sparta; the genius of the Athenians, which carries them to luxury and pleaſures, would never have ſuffered ſuch an equality: But in order to diminiſh our evils I cancell'd

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all debts; I began by remitting those which were due to me; I enfranchis'd all my slaves, and forbad any one for the future to pledge his liberty for what he borrowed. I never tasted so much pleasure as in relieving the miserable; I was still rich, but I thought myself poor, because I had not enough to distribute something to all the unfortunate; I establish'd at Athens this useful maxim, that all the members of the same commonwealth ought to feel and compassionate the miseries of one another, as parts of the same body.

The third source of our calamities was the multiplicity of laws, which is as evident a token of the corruption of a state, as a diversity of medicines is of the distempers of bodies. Here again I could not imitate Lycurgus; community of goods and an equality of all the members of a republic, render useless a great many laws and forms, which are absolutely necessary where there is an inequality of ranks and property. I contented myself with abolishing all those laws which serv'd only to exercise the subtle genius of the sophists, and the skill of the lawyers, reserving only a small number of such as were simple, short and clear; by this means I put a stop to contentious chicane, that monstrous invention of crafty knaves to elude justice; I fix'd certain times for the final determination of law-suits, and ordain'd severe and disgraceful punishments for the magistrates, who should lengthen them beyond the bounds prescrib'd; lastly I repeal'd the too severe laws of Draco, which punish'd the smallest transgressions and the greatest crimes equally with death; and I proportion'd the punishment to the offence.

The fourth source of our misfortunes was the bad education of children; none but superficial qualities, wit, bright imagination and gallantry, were cultivated in young persons; the heart, reason, noble

ſentiments and ſolid virtues were neglected; the value both of men and things was rated by appearances and not by reality; the Athenians were ſerious about trifles, and look'd upon ſolid matters as too abſtracted. In order to prevent theſe miſchiefs, I ordain'd that the council of Areopagus ſhould ſuperintend the education of children; I would not have them educated in ſuch ignorance as the Spartans, nor confin'd as before to the ſtudy of eloquence, poeſy, and thoſe ſciences, which ſerve only to adorn the imagination. I would have them apply their thoughts to all thoſe kinds of knowledge which help to fortify reaſon, habituate the mind to attention and are ſerviceable for acquiring penetration and judgment; the proportion of numbers, the calculation of the celeſtial motions, the ſtructure of the univerſe, the great art of knowing how to mount up to firſt principles, deſcend to conſequences, and diſcover the whole ſeries of truths, with their dependence upon one another. Theſe ſpeculative ſciences nevertheleſs, ſerve only to exerciſe and cultivate the mind in early youth. The Athenians in a riper age, apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the laws, policy and hiſtory, to learn the revolutions of empires, the cauſes of their riſe, and the occaſions of their fall; in a word, to every thing which may contribute to the knowledge of man and of men [a].

The fifth and laſt ſource of our evils was an immoderate fondneſs for pleaſures; I knew that the temper of the Athenians required amuſements and public ſhews; I was ſenſible that I could not ſubdue thoſe republican and untractable ſouls, but by making uſe of their inclination towards pleaſure, to captivate and inſtruct them. In theſe public ſhews

[a] *Piſiſtratus eſtabliſhed a kind of academy for cultivating all the ſciences, and erected a library containing a collection of all the ancient poets, philoſophers and hiſtorians.*

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I caused to be represented the fatal consequences of their disunion, and of all the vices prejudicial to society; by this means multitudes of men assembled in the same place, were induced to spend whole hours in hearing lessons of a sublime morality; they would have been disgusted with dry precepts and cold maxims; and there was no way to instruct, unite and correct them, but under pretence of amusing them. Such were my laws and institutions.

I see very well, said Cyrus, that you have consulted nature more than Lycurgus has done; but on the other hand, have you not been too indulgent to human weakness? It seems dangerous in a republic, which has always been inclin'd to voluptuousness, to endeavour the uniting of men by their taste for pleasures. I could not, reply'd Solon, change the nature of my countrymen; my laws are not perfect, but are the best which they could bear. Lycurgus found in his Spartans a genius apt to all heroic virtues; I found in the Athenians a bent towards all the vices which make men effeminate. I will venture to say, that the laws of Sparta by carrying the virtues to an extreme, transform them into faults; my laws on the contrary, tend to render even the weaknesses of men useful to society. This is all that policy can do; it does not change mens hearts, it only makes the best advantage of their passions.

I thought, continued Solon, to have prevented or cured the greatest part of our evils by the establishment of these laws, but the restlessness of a people accustom'd to licentiousness occasion'd me daily vexations: Some blamed my regulations, others pretended not to understand them; some were for making additions to them, others for retrenching them. I perceived then how useless the most excellent laws are without a fixed and stable authority to put them in execution. How unhappy is the lot of mortals? By endeavouring to avoid the ter-

rible evils of popular government they run a riſque of falling into ſlavery; by flying the inconveniences of regal power they become expos'd by degrees to anarchy. The path of juſt policy is bordered on both ſides with precipices. I ſaw that as yet I had done nothing, I went therefore to Piſiſtratus and ſaid to him: You ſee all the endeavours I have uſed to cure the diſtempers of the ſtate; my remedies are all uſeleſs for want of a phyſician to apply them. This people is ſo impatient under a yoke, that they dread the empire of reaſon itſelf; all ſubjection to laws is inſupportable to them; Every one is for reforming them after his own faſhion; I am going to abſent myſelf from my country for ten years; I ſhall avoid by that means the perplexity and trouble to which I am daily expos'd, of ſpoiling the ſimplicity of my laws by adding to them and multiplying them: Endeavour to accuſtom the Athenians to them in my abſence, and ſuffer no alteration in them. I have refus'd to accept the regal dignity which has been offer'd me; a true legiſlator ought to be diſintereſted; but for you, Piſiſtratus, your military virtues qualify you for government, and your natural humanity will hinder you from abuſing your authority; make the Athenians ſubject without making them ſlaves, and reſtrain their licentiouſneſs without taking away their liberty; avoid the title of King and content yourſelf with that of Archon. Having taken this reſolution, I went to travel in Egypt and Aſia. Piſiſtratus, in my abſence, mounted the throne notwithſtanding the averſion of the Athenians to regal power; his addreſs and his courage raiſed him to it, and his mildneſs and moderation maintain him on it; he diſtinguiſhes himſelf from his countrymen chiefly by an exact ſubmiſſion to the laws; and his manner of life is plain, without pageantry and pomp. Beſides, the Athenians reſpect him as he is deſcended from Cecrops, and becauſe he has only reſum'd

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the authority of his anceſtors for the good of his country. As for me, I ſpend my days here in ſolitude without meddling with the government; I content myſelf with preſiding in the Areopagus, and explaining my laws when any diſpute ariſes about their meaning. The Prince of Perſia ſaw clearly, by the diſcourſe of Solon, the inconveniencies of a popular government, and that deſpotic power in the multitude is more inſupportable than abſolute authority in a ſingle perſon.

Cyrus having inſtructed himſelf in the laws of Solon and the government of the Athenians, apply'd himſelf afterwards to learn their military ſtrength; it conſiſted chiefly in their fleets. Piſiſtratus conducted him to Phalerus, a maritime town ſituated at the mouth of the Iliſſus; this was the ordinary place of retreat for the Athenian ſhips; for the famous port Pyræeus was made afterwards by Themiſtocles. They went down the river accompany'd by Araſpes and ſeveral Athenians in a bark made on purpoſe; while delightful muſic charm'd the ear and govern'd the motion of the oars, the Prince deſired the King of Athens to give him a more particular account than he had done at firſt of the various revolutions which had happened under his reign. Piſiſtratus ſatisfy'd his curioſity in the following manner:

[b] You know that when I firſt formed the deſign of making myſelf King, the ſtate was rent in pieces by two factions; Megacles was the head of one party and Lycurgus led the other; Solon put an end to our diviſions by his wiſe laws, and went ſoon after into Aſia. In his abſence I gained the hearts of the people, and by artifice and addreſs obtained guards for my perſon; I made myſelf maſter of the fortreſs and was proclaimed King. In order to engage more

[b] *See Herod. lib. 1. and Plut. life of Solon.*

thoroughly

thoroughly the good will of the people, I slighted any alliance with the Princes of Greece, and marry'd Phya daughter of a rich Athenian of the Pæanean tribe. Love united with policy: Besides her surprizing beauty, she had all the qualities worthy of a throne, and all the virtues of a noble soul: I had lov'd her in my youth, but ambition had diverted my passion.

I govern'd in peace for some years, but at length the inconstancy of the Athenians signally shew'd it self anew. Lycurgus rais'd a general murmuring against me, under pretence that I was exhausting the public treasury to maintain useless fleets; he artfully spread it abroad, that my only design in augmenting our naval strength, was to make myself master of Greece, that I might afterwards invade the liberty of the Athenians; and he laid a plot to take away my life; he communicated his design to Megacles, who abhorr'd the treason and gave me notice of it. I took all possible precautions to avoid falling a victim to the jealousy of Lycurgus. The traitor however found means to raise an insurrection, and the fury of the people grew to such a height, that they set fire to my palace in the night; I ran to the apartment of Phya, but it was already consumed by the flames, and I had but just time enough to save my self with my son Hippias; I escap'd in the dark, and fled to the island of Salamis, where I conceal'd myself two whole years: I doubted not but that Phya had perish'd in the flames; and how great soever my ambition was, her death affected me infinitely more than the loss of my crown.

During my exile the animosity of Megacles against Lycurgus revived, and their differences threw the city again into the utmost confusion; I gave Megacles notice of the condition I was in, and the place of my retreat; he sent a proposal to me to return to Athens, and offer'd me his daughter in mar-

marriage: In order to engage the Athenians to come into our measures, we had recourse to religion, and corrupted the priests of Minerva; I left the island of Salamis; Megacles came and join'd me at a temple some furlongs from Athens; he was accompany'd by several senators and a crowd of people; sacrifices were offer'd, and the entrails of the victims examin'd, upon which the high-priest declared in the name of the Goddess, that her city cou'd not be happy but by my restauration, whereupon I was crown'd with solemnity. The better to impose upon the people Megacles chose out from among the young priestesses, her who was of the most majestic stature, and arm'd her like the daughter of Jupiter; she wore the dreadful Ægis upon her breast, and held in her hand a shining lance, but her face was veil'd: I seated myself with her in a triumphal chariot, and we were conducted to the city; trumpeters and heralds went before, and cried with a loud voice, people of Athens receive Pisistratus whom Minerva resolving to honour above all other mortals brings back to you by her priestess [c]. The gates of the town were immediately open'd, and we went directly to the fortress where my marriage was to be celebrated; the priestess stept down from her chariot, and taking me by the hand, led me into the inner apartment of the palace: As soon as we were alone she took off her veil, and I perceived that it was Phya; imagine the transports of my joy; my love and my ambition were both crown'd the same day; she gave me a brief account of her escaping the flames, and of her retiring to the temple of Minerva upon the report of my undoubted death.

Megacles seeing all his projects disconcerted by the Queen's return, employ'd his thoughts to dispossess me again; he persuaded himself that I had

[c] *Herod. lib.* 1.

acted

acted in concert with Phya to deceive him by false hopes; he spread a rumour at Athens that I had corrupted the pontiff, and had abused religion to impose upon the people: They rose in arms against me a second time, and besieged the fortress; Phya seeing the cruel extremities to which I was reduced, and apprehending the effects I might feel of the fury of a superstitious and enraged multitude, resolved to leave me; she thought herself oblig'd to sacrifice her own happiness to that of her country, and Minerva without doubt inspir'd her to make this sacrifice. So great an example of generosity fill'd me with admiration, overwhelm'd me with sorrow, and redoubled my love. Megacles being inform'd of Phya's flight offer'd me peace, upon condition that I would divorce the Queen and marry his daughter; but I resolv'd to renounce my crown, rather than be false to my duty and my love. The siege was renew'd with more vigour than ever, and after a long resistance I was oblig'd to give way to the storm; I left Attica and made my escape into Eubœa.

I wander'd a great while in that country, till being discover'd and persecuted by Megacles, I retir'd into the island of Naxos: I enter'd into the temple of Minerva to pay my devotion to the protectress of Athens; just as I had ended my prayer I perceiv'd an urn upon the altar, and going near it I read this inscription: 'Here rest the ashes of Phya, whose 'love to Pisistratus and her country made her a 'willing victim to their happiness.' This mournful spectacle renew'd all my sorrows, yet could I not tear myself away from that fatal place; I often went to the temple to bewail my misfortunes; it was my only remaining consolation in this lonely condition, in which I suffer'd hunger, thirst, the inclemency of the seasons and all sorts of misery. One day while I was plung'd in the most melancholy reflections and in a profound silence, I know not whether

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in a vision or a divine dream, but the temple seem'd to shake, and the top of it to open; I beheld Minerva in the air in the same form as when she came out of the head of Jupiter, and I heard her pronounce these words in a majestic and threatning tone: 'It is thus the Gods punish those who abuse 'religion, by making it subservient to their ambi-'tion.' My soul was seiz'd with a sacred horror; the presence of the Goddess confounded me, and laid open before my eyes all my crimes; I continu'd a great while without sense or motion; from that time my heart was chang'd; I discern'd the true source of all my misfortunes; I detested that false policy which makes use of wiles, artifice and mean dissimulation; I resolv'd for the future to employ no methods but what were noble, just and magnanimous, and to make it my endeavour to render the Athenians happy, in case the Gods should be appeased and should suffer me to reascend the throne: The Gods were appeas'd, and deliver'd me from my exile. My son Hippias engaged the Argians and several cities of Greece to assist me; I went and join'd him in Attica; I first took Marathon and then advanc'd towards Athens; the Athenians came out of the city to give me battle; I sent some children on horseback to them, to assure them that I did not come to invade their liberties, but to restore the laws of Solon: This moderation remov'd their fears, they receiv'd me with acclamations of joy, and I ascended the throne a third time. My reign has never since been disturb'd; but I understand that Megacles who is retired to Corinth has engag'd the Corinthians to lend him a fleet, and I am daily making preparations to withstand the invasion with which he threatens me.

Pisistratus was in this manner discoursing with Cyrus, when they arriv'd at Phalerus; the haven stretch'd itself in form of a crescent; great chains went

went from one side to the other to be a barrier to the ships, while several towers at certain distances served to defend the mole. The two Princes went up with Araspes to a temple of Venus built upon the summit of mount Colias, from whence they discover'd a fleet under full sail, making towards Phalerus. Pisistratus presently discern'd the Corinthian flag, and going down to the port went aboard his fleet, giving orders to weigh anchor and meet the enemy. The wind chang'd on a sudden and favour'd Pisistratus; the two fleets came up with each other, and were ranged in order of battle: A forest of masts form'd on one side three lines of a vast length, whilst a triple line of Athenian vessels, bending into the figure of a half-moon, presented an opposite forest upon the water: The heavy armed soldiers were posted upon the decks, the bowmen and slingers at the prow and poop. The trumpet gave the signal to begin the attack; the galleys on both sides first drew back, then advanc'd and struck against each other with violence; they pierced and tore each other with their iron beaks; some struck against the prow, others against the poop, and others against the sides, while those vessels which were attack'd presented their oars to break the violence of the shock. The two fleets mix'd, grappled and came to a close fight; here the Athenian soldiers flung themselves from one ship to another, there the Corinthians threw bridges to board the enemy.

Cyrus follow'd Pisistratus every where, and by his courage supply'd his want of experience in this sort of fight. Giving way to his ardor he would have thrown himself into one of the enemies ships, but fell into the sea: Several arrows were shot at him, but he plunged into the water, saved himself by swimming, and got on board an Athenian galley, which Pisistratus sent to his assistance. Asham'd of his want of dexterity he resolv'd to perish or repair

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his misfortune: He order'd the rowers to advance to the vessel where Megacles was in person, he came up with it, and with a flaming dart set fire to it; the Athenian rebel endeavour'd to escape but perished in the fire. Pisistratus and his captains follow'd the example of Cyrus; the wind freshen'd and blew high; the flames mix'd with the waves; the Corinthians threw themselves into the water to escape: the sea was soon cover'd with men swimming amidst rudders and rowers seats: This sad spectacle continu'd till the Corinthian fleet was quite dispers'd by the wind or consum'd by the flames. After the action Cyrus was wholly employ'd in saving the lives of those who were upon the point of perishing: Then he return'd into the port, and spent some days at Phalerus to observe the manner of building ships, and to learn the names and uses of all their different parts.

When Pisistratus had given all the necessary orders for repairing his galleys, he took Cyrus with him in a chariot and returned to Athens by a terrass which ran along the banks of the river Ilissus. By the way he discoursed with the Prince of the naval force of the Athenians, the schemes he had laid to augment it, the advantages which might be drawn from it for the security of Greece against foreign invasions, and lastly of the usefulness of commerce with regard to the navy. Hitherto, said he, the Athenians have apply'd their thoughts rather to grow rich than great, and this has been the source of our luxury, licentiousness and popular discords; wherever a people carry on commerce only to increase their wealth the state is no longer a republic but a society of merchants, who have no other bond of union but the desire of gain. The generous love of their country is no longer thought of when the public good interferes with their private interest. I have endeavoured to prevent these mischiefs; our ships

subsist

ſubſiſt by their trade in time of peace, and are of ſervice in defending our country in time of war; by this means commerce contributes not only to enrich the ſubject, but to augment the ſtrength of the ſtate; the public good unites with the intereſt of each private ſubject, and trade does not in the leaſt diminiſh military virtue.

When Cyrus was return'd to Athens Piſiſtratus and Solon carried him to ſee their dramatic entertainments. Magnificent theatres, pompous decorations, and the nice rules which have been ſince obſerved, were not then known. Tragedy was not in that perfection to which it was brought by Sophocles, but it anſwer'd all the views of policy for which it had been introduc'd. The Greek poets, in their dramatic pieces, uſually repreſented the tyranny of Kings, in order to ſtrengthen the averſion of the Athenians to regal government; but Piſiſtratus directed the deliverance of Andromeda to be acted. The poet had ſcatter'd throughout his tragedy ſeveral ſtrokes of panegyric, which were the more ingenious, as they might be apply'd not only to Perſeus, but to Cyrus who was deſcended from him. After this entertainment Solon led the young Prince to his retreat on Mars-Hill to take a repaſt there; it was more frugal than that at the palace of Piſiſtratus, but not leſs agreeable. During this repaſt Cyrus deſir'd the wiſe old man to explain to him the political deſign and principal parts of tragedy, which he did not yet underſtand.

Solon who was himſelf a poet anſwer'd: The theatre is a living picture of the virtues and paſſions of men; Imitation deceives the mind into a belief that the objects are really preſent and not repreſented. You have formerly read our poet Homer, the drama is only an abridgment of epic-poeſy; the one is an action recited, the other an action repreſented; the one recounts the ſucceſſive triumphs of virtue over vice

vice and fortune, the other repreſents the unforeſeen miſchiefs caus'd by the paſſions; the one may abound with the marvellous and ſupernatural, becauſe it treats of heroic exploits, which the Gods alone inſpire; but in the other the natural muſt be joined with the ſurpriſing, to ſhew the genuine effects and play of human paſſions; the heaping of wonders upon wonders tranſports the mind beyond the limits of nature, but it only excites admiration; on the contrary, by deſcribing the effects of virtue and vice, both without us and within us, man is brought to ſee and know himſelf, the heart is touch'd while the mind is delighted and amus'd. To reach the ſublime the poet muſt be a philoſopher; the moſt beautiful flowers, graces and paintings only pleaſe the imagination without ſatisfying the heart or improving the underſtanding; ſolid principles, noble ſentiments and various characters muſt be diſpers'd throughout, in order to diſplay to us truth, virtue and nature. Man muſt be repreſented as he is and as he appears, in his native colours and under his diſguiſes, that the picture may reſemble the original, in which there is always a contraſt of virtues and imperfections. At the ſame time it is neceſſary to conform to the weakneſs of mankind; too much moralizing tires, too much reaſoning chills the mind; we muſt turn maxims into action, convey noble ſentiments by a ſingle ſtroke, and inſtruct rather by the manners of the hero than by his diſcourſe.

Theſe are the great rules founded upon human nature, and the ſprings which muſt be put in motion to make pleaſure ſerviceable to inſtruction. I foreſee that one day theſe rules may be improv'd; hitherto I have contented myſelf with making the theatre a ſchool of philoſophy for the young Athenians, and uſeful to their education. It argues an ignorance of human nature to think of leading it to wiſdom at once by conſtraint and ſeverity: During the

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ſprightlineſs and fire of youth, there is no fixing the attention of the mind but by amuſing it; this age is always upon its guard againſt precepts, and therefore that they may be reliſhed it is neceſſary to diſguiſe them under the form of pleaſure.

Cyrus admired the great deſigns both political and moral of the theatre, and ſaw clearly at the ſame time that the principal rules of tragedy are not arbitrary, but taken from nature. He thought he could not better ſhew his thankfulneſs to Solon for his inſtructions than by letting him ſee the impreſſion they had made upon him. I now perceive, ſaid he, that the Egyptians are much in the wrong to deſpiſe the Greeks, and eſpecially you Athenians: They look upon your graces, your delicacies and your ingenious turns as frivolous thoughts, ſuperfluous ornaments and childiſh prettineſſes, which denote a puerility of mind and a weakneſs of genius, which will not ſuffer you to riſe higher. But I ſee that you have a nicer taſte than other nations, that you are better acquainted with human nature, and know how to make pleaſures inſtructive. The people of other countries are moſtly affected with bold flights, violent tranſports and bloody cataſtrophes: It is for want of ſenſibility that we do not diſtinguiſh like you the different ſhades of human thought and paſſion; we are not acquainted with thoſe ſoft and ſweet pleaſures that ariſe from delicate ſentiments. Solon touch'd with the politeneſs of the Prince's diſcourſe, could not forbear embracing him and ſaying: Happy the nation that is govern'd by a Prince who travels over the earth and ſeas, to carry back into his own country all the treaſures of wiſdom! Cyrus ſoon after prepared to leave Athens, and at parting made the ſame promiſe to Piſiſtratus and Solon which he had made to Chilo and Leonidas, of being ever a faithful ally to Greece: He embark'd with Araſpes at the port of Phalerus in a Rhodian veſſel which was bound for Crete.

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The Prince's design in going thither was not only to study the laws of Minos, but likewise to see Pythagoras who had stopp'd there in his way to Creton: All the Eastern Magi, whom that Sage had seen in his travels, had spoken of him to the Prince with encomiums; he was esteem'd the greatest Philosopher of his age, and to understand best of all men the ancient religion of Orpheus: His dispute with Anaximander the naturalist had fill'd all Greece with his fame, and divided all the learned; Araspes had been inform'd of this matter by the philosophers of Athens, and during the voyage gave Cyrus the following account of it.

Pythagoras, who was descended from the ancient Kings of the island of Samos, had been captivated with the charms of wisdom from his tendereſt years; he discovered even from that time a superior genius and a sovereign taste for truth. Not finding at Samos any philosopher who could satisfy his eager thirst for knowledge, he left it at eighteen years of age to seek elsewhere what he could not meet with in his own country; after having travell'd for several years in Egypt and Asia, he return'd home fraught with all the sciences of the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Gymnosophists and Hebrews; the sublimity of his genius was equal to the extent of his learning, and the excellent qualities of his heart surpass'd both; his lively and fertile imagination did not hinder the justness of his reasoning.

Anaximander had gone from his own country Miletus to the island of Samos; he had all the talents which can be acquir'd by study, but his understanding was more subtile than profound, his notions more glittering than solid, and his deluding eloquence full of sophistry: He was impious in the very bottom of his soul, yet affected all the outward appearances of an extravagant superstition; he held as divine truths all the fables of the poets, and stuck to the literal

ſenſe of their allegories; he adopted all the vulgar opinions as principles, in order to degrade religion and make it monſtrous.

Pythagoras loudly oppos'd theſe miſchievous maxims, and endeavour'd to clear religion of thoſe abſurd opinions which diſhonour'd it. Anaximander had known Pythagoras from his infancy, he had inſtructed him in all the ſecrets of natural philoſophy, and had loved him with the affection of a father; but after the young Samian return'd from his travels, the Mileſian became jealous of his talents, and reſolv'd to ruin him as an ingrate, who uſurped upon his rights, obſcur'd his glory, and was like to be the oracle of Greece; he cover'd himſelf with the veil of a deep hypocriſy, and accuſed Pythagoras of impiety; he ſecretly made uſe of all arts to incenſe the people and alarm Polycrates, who then reign'd at Samos; he addreſſed himſelf to all the ſects of philoſophers, and to the prieſts of the different Divinities, to perſuade them that the Samian Sage, by teaching the unity of one ſole Principle, deſtroy'd the Gods of Greece: The King eſteem'd and lov'd Pythagoras, yet he ſuffer'd himſelf to be deceiv'd by the artful repreſentations of Anaximander: The Sage was baniſh'd from court and oblig'd to quit his country. He leads at preſent a retir'd life in the iſland of Crete, and there ſtudies wiſdom without books or converſation. Having ſearch'd deep into all the myſteries of nature, and diſcern'd thoſe marks of an infinite Wiſdom and Power, with which every part of the univerſe abounds, he ſoars upon the wings of contemplation, that he may unite himſelf to the ſovereign truth, whoſe impreſſions he receives without the medium of words or ſounds [a]: This inſpiration, as I am told, is nothing like that enthu-

[a] *See the notion of Simmias the Philoſopher in Plutarch concerning Socrates's genius.*

siasm which heats the mind and agitates the body; but it gradually stills the noise of the senses and imagination, imposes silence on all vain reasonings, and brings the soul to an inward calm, that resembles the repose of the Gods themselves, whose infinite activity does not in the least diminish their perfect tranquillity. In this sublime state Pythagoras practises all the human and social virtues, but it is with an ultimate regard to the Gods, and in imitation of their veracity and goodness; he is modest, affable, polite, delicate in all his sentiments, disinterested in all his actions, speaks little, and never displays his talents but to inspire the love of virtue. This account of the Samian Philosopher gave Cyrus a greater desire to see him, and to learn the particulars of his dispute. The wind continu'd favourable, and the vessel in a few days made the island of Crete.

THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

SIXTH BOOK.

CYRUS no sooner arriv'd in Crete, but he went strait to Gnossus, the capital of that island, famous for the wonderful labyrinth made by Dedalus, and the stately temple of Jupiter

Olympius. This God was there repreſented without ears, to know that the ſovereign Lord of the univerſe has no need of bodily organs to hear the complaints and prayers of men [a]. The temple ſtood within a large encloſure in the midſt of a ſacred wood; the entrance into it was through a portico of twenty pillars of Oriental grenate; the gate was of braſs finely carv'd, and was adorn'd on the ſides with two large figures, the one repreſenting Truth, the other Juſtice. The fabric was an immenſe arch, which let in the light only at the top, in order to hide from the eye all objects abroad except the heavens. The inſide was a periſtyle of porphyry and Numidian marble: At certain diſtances one from another were ſeveral altars conſecrated to the celeſtial Gods, with the ſtatues of terreſtrial Divinities between the pillars; the dome was cover'd on the outſide with plates of ſilver, and adorn'd on the inſide with the images of heroes, who had been deify'd for their merit.

Cyrus enter'd this temple; the ſilence and majeſty of the place fill'd him with awe and reſpect: He proſtrated himſelf and ador'd the Divinity preſent: He had learnt from Zoroaſter that the Jupiter Olympius of the Greeks was the ſame with the Oromazes of the Perſians, and the Oſiris of the Egyptians. He then caſt his eye over all the wonders of art which beautify'd this place; he was leſs ſtruck with the richneſs and magnificence of the altars, than with the nobleneſs and expreſſion of the ſtatues: As he had learnt the Greek Mythology, he could eaſily diſtinguiſh all the Divinities, and diſcern the myſteries couch'd in the allegorical figures that were before him. What drew his attention more eſpecially, was to ſee that each of the celeſtial Deities held in his hand a golden tablet; upon theſe tablets were written the exalted ideas of Minos in religion, and

[a] *Plut. of Iſis and Oſiris.*

the

the ſeveral anſwers which the oracles had given that law-giver, when he conſulted them about the nature of the Gods, and the worſhip they requir'd.

Upon the tablet of Jupiter Olympius were to be read theſe words: 'I give being, life and motion 'to all creatures [b]; no one can know me but he 'who ſeeks to reſemble me [c].' Upon that of Pallas: 'The Gods make themſelves known to the heart, 'and conceal themſelves from thoſe who endeavour 'to comprehend them by the underſtanding alone [d].' Upon that of the Goddeſs Urania: 'The divine 'laws are not chains to fetter us, but wings to raiſe 'us to the bright Olympius [e].' Upon that of the Pythian Apollo was this ancient oracle: 'The Gods 'take leſs delight to dwell in heaven than in the 'ſoul of the juſt, which is their true temple [f].' While Cyrus was meditating on the ſublime ſenſe of theſe inſcriptions, a venerable old man enter'd the temple, proſtrated himſelf before the ſtatue of Harpocrates, and remain'd there a long time in profound ſilence. Cyrus ſuſpected it to be Pythagoras, but durſt not interrupt his devotion. Pythagoras (for it was he) having paid his homage to the Gods, roſe up and perceived the two ſtrangers: He imagined, that in the air and mein of Cyrus he ſaw the ſame marks which Solon had deſcribed, when he gave him notice of the young Prince's intended voyage to Crete; he accoſted him with a ſalutation, and made himſelf known.

The Samian ſage, that he might not diſturb the ſilence which ought to be obſerv'd in a place dedicated to the adoration of the immortal of Gods, led Cyrus and Araſpes into the ſacred wood adjoining to the temple. Cyrus then ſaid to him: What I

[b] Ζῶμεν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ ἔνιτα, καὶ κινέμεθα καί ἐσμεν. *Epimen. See Hammond on Acts of Apoſt. chap. xvii. ver.* 28.
[c] *Plat. Epinom.* [d] *Ibid.* [e] *Plat. de Rep.*
[f] *Hierocl. aur. carm.*

have ſeen upon the golden tablets gives me a high notion of your religion; I made haſte to come hither, not only to be inſtructed in the laws of Minos, but to learn from you the doctrine of Orpheus about the golden age; I am told that it reſembles that of the Perſians concerning the empire of Oromazes, and that of the Egyptians relating to the reign of Oſiris; 'tis a pleaſure to ſee the traces of thoſe great truths in all nations; vouchſafe to unfold to me your ancient traditions. Solon, reply'd Pythagoras, acquainted me with your deſign of coming into this iſland; I was going to Croton, but I have put off my voyage to have the pleaſure of ſeeing a hero, whoſe birth and conqueſts have been foretold by the oracles of almoſt all nations: I will conceal nothing from you of the myſteries of wiſdom, becauſe I know that you will one day be the law-giver of Aſia as well as its conqueror. After this they ſat down near a ſtatue of Minos in the ſacred wood, and the Philoſopher rehears'd to them all the Mythology of the firſt Greeks, making uſe of the poetic ſtyle of Orpheus, which by its paintaings and images render'd ſenſible the ſublimeſt truths.

§ In the golden age the inhabitants of the earth liv'd in a perfect innocence: Such as are the Elyſian fields for heroes, ſuch was then the happy abode of men; the intemperature of the air, and the war of the elements were unknown; the North winds were not yet come forth from their deep grotto's; the zephyrs only enliven'd all things with their ſoft and gentle breezes; neither the ſcorching heats of ſummer, nor the ſeverities of winter were ever felt; the ſpring crown'd with flowers, and the autumn loaded with fruits, reigned together; death, diſeaſes and crimes durſt not approach theſe happy places. The ſoul was not then impriſon'd in a groſs mortal body

§ *See the Diſc. p.* 43.

as it is now; it was united to a luminous, heavenly, etherial body [h], which serv'd it as a vehicle to fly through the air, rise to the stars and wander over all the regions of immensity. Sometimes those first men reposing themselves in odoriferous groves, tasted all the purest pleasures of friendship; sometimes they sat at the tables of the Gods, and were feasted with nectar and ambrosia; at other times Jupiter, attended by all the Divinities, mounted his wing'd chariot and conducted them above the heavens. The poets have not celebrated, nor known that [i] HIGHEST PLACE; it was there that the souls beheld truth, justice and wisdom in their source; it was there that with the eyes of the pure spirit they contemplated the first Essence, of whose brightness Jupiter and the other Gods are but so many rays; there they were nourished with beholding that object, till being no longer able to support its splendor, they descended again to their ordinary abode. The Deities at that time took a pleasure in conversing with men; the shepherdesses were loved by the Gods, and the Goddesses did not disdain the love of shepherds; the graces accompanied them every where, and these graces were the virtues themselves; but alas! this golden age was of no long duration.

One day men neglected to follow Jupiter's chariot, staid in the fields of Hecate, got drunk with nectar, lost their taste for pure truth, and separated the love of pleasure from the love of order. The shepherdesses view'd themselves in fountains and became idolaters of their own beauty; each had her thoughts wholly taken up about herself; love forsook the earth, and together with him all the celestial Divinities disappear'd: The Sylvan Gods were changed into Satyrs,

[h] *The Pythagoreans and Platonists call'd this subtile vehicle of the soul,* Σῶμα αὐγοειδὲς, αἰθέριον, ἀίδιον. *See Cudworth p. 785, to p. 800.* [i] Τόπος ὑπερουράνιος. *See Disc. p. 51.*

the Napææ into Bacchæ, and the Nayads into Syrens; the virtues and the graces were no longer the ſame; and ſelf-love, the parent of all vices, begot ſenſuality, the ſource of all miſeries. Nature was quickly transform'd in this lower ſphere: The ſun had no longer the ſame force, nor the ſame mildneſs, its light was obſcur'd; our globe fell to ruins, the abyſs was open'd and overflow'd it; it was divided by ſeas into iſlands and continents; the fruitful hills became craggy rocks, and the delightful valleys frightful precipices: Nothing remain'd but ruins of the old world drown'd in the waters. The wings of the Soul were clipt; its ſubtile vehicle was broken; and ſpirits were thrown down into mortal bodies, where they undergo divers tranſmigrations, till they are purged of their crimes by expiatory pains. [1] The etherial body was contracted, impriſon'd, and buried in a living ſepulchre, a coarſe covering, which is ever changing, which does not continue one moment the ſame, and is ſomething merely accidental to our ſubſtance: The immortal ſeed, the incorruptible body, the ſubtile vehicle is at preſent the ſeat of the ſoul, and the channel of communication between the pure ſpirit and the groſs body, the hidden ſpring of all the motions and operations of our walking carcaſs. It was thus that the iron age ſucceeded to the golden, and it will laſt ten thouſand years; during which time Saturn conceals himſelf in an inacceſſible retreat; but in the end he will reſume the reins of his empire, and reſtore the univerſe to its original ſplendor: All ſouls will then be reunited to their principle. This, continued Pythagoras, is the allegory by which Orpheus has made us underſtand the firſt condition of man, and the miſery into which he is fallen. Our mortal body is the puniſhment of our crimes, and the diſorder of

[1] *See Diſc. p. 20.*

our

our heart is an evident proof of our being degraded.

I perceive, said Cyrus, that the principles of Zoroaster, Hermes and Orpheus are the same: Their allegories abound with the sublimest truths; why then will your priests reduce all to an outward worship? They have spoken to me of Jupiter only as of a law-giver, who promises his nectar and ambrosia, not to solid virtues, but to the belief of certain opinions and the observance of some ceremonies which are of no use either to enlighten the mind, or to purify the heart. The corruption and avarice of the priests, reply'd Pythagoras, is the source of all these mischiefs. The ministers of the Gods who were established at first to make men good, turn the priesthood into a vile trade; they mind only the outward shew of religion. The vulgar not understanding the mysterious meaning of the sacred rites, fall into a gross superstition, while the bold wits give themselves up to impiety. Some despise even the purest antiquity; others deny the necessity of an outward worship; others arraign the eternal Wisdom, because of the evils and crimes which happen here below. Anaximander and his audacious school actually spread abroad at this time throughout all Greece, that God and Nature are the same thing. Every one forms a system after his own fashion, without respecting the doctrine of the ancients.

When Cyrus heard him name Anaximander, he said to him, I have been inform'd of the cause of your disgrace and exile; and have a great desire to know the particulars of your dispute with that Milesian Philosopher; tell me in what manner you combated his doctrine. It may help very much to preserve me from those dangerous maxims. I have already seen at Ecbatan several Magi who talk'd the same language with Anaximander: The errors of the human mind are pretty near the same in all

countries and in all times. The particulars of that diſpute, anſwer'd Pythagoras, will be long, but I ſhall not affect to ſhorten them leſt I ſhould become obſcure. Upon my return to Samos, continued the Philoſopher, after my long travels, I found that Anaximander, who was now advanc'd in years, had ſpread every where his impious doctrine; The young people had embrac'd it; the love of novelty, the inclination to flatter their paſſions, the vanity of thinking themſelves wiſer than other men, had blinded their underſtandings and drawn them into thoſe errors. In order to remedy theſe miſchiefs, I attack'd the principles of the Mileſian; he made me be cited before a tribunal of Pontiffs in the temple of Apollo, where the King and all the people of the city were aſſembled; he began by repreſenting my doctrine under the moſt odious form, gave falſe and malicious turns to my words, and endeavoured to make me ſuſpected of the impiety of which he himſelf was guilty: I then roſe up and ſpoke in the following manner.

O King! image of the great Jupiter! prieſts of Apollo! and you citizens of Samos! hearken to me and judge of my innocence; I have travel'd among all the different nations of the univerſe to learn wiſdom, which is only to be found in the tradition of the ancients; I have diſcovered, that from the origin of things men adored but one ſole eternal Principle; that all the Gods of Greece are but different names to expreſs the attributes of the Deity, or the properties of Nature, which is the image of him. All that we can conceive of the ſupreme Eſſence preſents itſelf to the mind under the three forms of goodneſs, wiſdom and power; the ſovereign good, the principle of all beings, the intelligence which deſign'd the plan of the world and the energy which executed it. The Orientals call theſe three forms

[b] ORO-

[a] OROMAZES, MYTHRA and MYTHRAS; the Egyptians OSIRIS, ISIS and ORUS; the Thracians URANUS, URANIA and LOVE; the Tyrians BELUS, VENUS and THAMMUZ; the Greeks JUPITER, MINERVA and APOLLO. Sometimes we repreſent theſe three forms of the Divinity by the principal parts of nature, as the ſun, the moon and the earth, and we call them PHOEBUS, PHOEBE and PAN; at other times by the elements of fire, air and water, and we ſtile them VULCAN, JUNO and NEPTUNE; one while by that prolific vertue which produces wine, corn and fruits, and they are called BACCHUS, CERES and VERTUMNUS; often by the juſtice they exerciſe in the infernal regions, and they bear the names of PLUTO, PROSERPINE and MINOS: Moreover the firſt Form of the Divinity is repreſented by his eternity as he is the moſt ancient of all beings, and we call it COELUS, CHRONUS and SATURN: The ſecond Form by his fecundity as containing the ſeeds of all things, and we ſtile it RHEA, VESTA and CYBELE: The third Form by the authority he exerciſes in the government of the world, and we call it MARS as the arbiter of war, MERCURY as the ambaſſador of the ſupreme God, HERCULES as a hero who purges the earth of monſters. Thus we expreſs the three attributes of the Deity which comprehend the totality of his nature by the original Father the author of all beings, the immortal Virgin the mother of nature, and the ſon of Jupiter the emanation from thoſe two principles. [b] All theſe names nevertheleſs denote but one and the ſame power which drew all beings viſible and inviſible out of nothing; but mankind have confounded the work with the artificer, the image with the original, the ſhadow with the ſubſtance;

[a] *See Diſc. p. 7, 8. compar'd with p. 35.*
[b] *See Diſc. p. 13.*

they have forgotten the ancient doctrine, they have loſt the meaning of our allegories and ſtop at the outward ſymbols without entring into the ſpirit of them: This is the ſource of thoſe numberleſs errors which prevail at preſent throughout all Greece, degrade religion and render it contemptible. Moreover I find that it is a ſtedfaſt maxim in all nations, that men are not what they were in the golden age, that they are debas'd and degraded, and that religion is the only means to reſtore the ſoul to its original grandeur, to make her wings grow again and to raiſe her to the etherial regions from whence ſhe is fallen. It is neceſſary firſt to become man by civil and ſocial virtues, and then to reſemble the Gods by that love of the SOVEREIGN BEAUTY, ORDER and PERFECTION which makes us love virtue for itſelf: This is the only worſhip worthy of the immortals, and this is all my doctrine.

Anaximander then roſe up in the midſt of the aſſembly; his age, talents and reputation gain'd him a ſilent and univerſal attention. Pythagoras, ſaid he, deſtroys religion by his refinements; his love of ORDER is a chimera; let us conſult nature, let us ſearch into all the ſecret receſſes of man's heart, let us interrogate men of all nations, we ſhall find that ſelf-love is the ſource of all our actions, all our paſſions and even all our virtues: Pythagoras loſes himſelf in his abſtract reaſonings; I keep to ſimple nature, and there I find my principles: The feeling and ſentiment of all hearts authorizes my doctrine, and this kind of proof is the ſhorteſt and moſt convincing.

Anaximander, anſwer'd I, ſubſtitutes irregular paſſions in the room of noble ſentiments, he always repreſents what men ordinarily do, as the ſtandard of what they ought to do; but the weakneſs of nature blinded and enfeebled by the paſſions is not the rule of nature enlighten'd and fortified by the ſovereign reaſon; he affirms boldly but he proves nothing;

nothing; this is not my method; my proofs are these, they seem to me clear and solid. The sovereign will of the great Jupiter ought to be the universal rule of our will; he loves all beings more or less, in proportion to their resemblance with him; it is the degree of this resemblance which constitutes the beauty, truth and goodness of each intelligence. The father of Gods and men loves himself as the sovereign good, and all other beings as his emanations; and this should be our rule: Self-love, to be regular, must be the effect and not the cause of our love for the supreme good; the love of the INFINITELY GREAT should be the ground of our love for the INFINITELY LITTLE; the love of the original, the motive of our love for the pictures. This is the eternal law, the immutable order, and the love of the sovereign beauty.

Anaximander interrupted me with a disdainful smile and answer'd; Pythagoras imposes upon you by words without meaning, by abstracted ideas that are of no use in social life, by chimeras hatched in the empty brain of idle sophists who exhaust themselves in vain speculations; what is this eternal law? this order conformable to it? this love of the sovereign beauty with which he continually dazzles our eyes? let him explain himself clearly, and all his fine-spun notions will vanish into smoak.

[c] The law, reply'd I, is the intelligence which produced all things, the sovereign reason of the great Jupiter, the divine Minerva who incessantly springs from his head. The order conformable to this law, is founded upon the different degrees of reality which the All-producing spirit has given to his works, the immutable relations and essential differences which are between them. The love conformable to this order is to prefer that which is more

[c] *See Hierocles on the golden verses of Pythag. p.* 14.

perfect to that which is less so, not only in all kinds but in the several species and individuals. [d] Lastly the sovereign beauty has no perfect similitude with any thing we behold on earth or in the heavens; whatever else is beautiful is only so by a participation of its beauty; all other beauties may increase, decay, change or perish, but this is still the same in all times and in all places; 'tis by contemplating the different degrees of transient, variable and finite beauty, and by carrying our thoughts beyond them all, that we at length reach to that supreme Beauty which is simple, pure, uniform, immutable, without colour, figure or human qualities. Anaximander pretends this doctrine is a chimerical idea, and a vain refinement which has no influence in social life, but all the philosophers and legislators have thought otherwise; Hermes, Orpheus and Minos laid it down as a fundamental principle that a man must prefer the public good to his private interest from the sole love of goodness, justice and perfection: It was to this order that Codrus thought himself bound to sacrifice not only his crown but his life; his view in conforming to this order was not to render himself happy, on the contrary he believed it his duty to devote himself to death, and to make no account of himself because the love of order exacted it. If we can love nothing but with reference to ourselves, each member of society will come by degrees to consider himself as an independent being made for himself; there will be no reason to sacrifice private interest to public good; noble sentiments and heroic virtues will be destroyed: Nor is this all, every concealed crime will soon be authorized; if virtue be not amiable for itself, each man will forsake it when he can hide himself from the eyes of the public; he will commit all crimes

[d] *See Plat. fest. ed. Steph. p. 211.*

without

without remorse when interest carries him to it, and he is not with-held by fear; and thus is all society dissolved; whether therefore you consider religion or policy, both conspire to prove my doctrine.

Here Anaximander answered: Pythagoras is unacquainted with the nature of the soul; the desire of happiness constitutes the essence of the will; pleasure is the great law both of mortal and immortal natures, its attractive force is irresistible and it is the only moving spring of man's heart; the sight of perfection acts upon us only by the pleasing sensation it causes in us.

We always love with pleasure, answered I, but we do not always love for the sake of pleasure. As the delight which accompanies the perception of truth is not the reason why we acquiesce in truth, so the pleasure which accompanies the view of order is not the reason why we love justice. That which determines the pure act of the will, both in the one and the other case, is the perception of the immutable relations, and essential differences between beings; to know these relations and these differences is truth; to act according to these relations and differences is virtue. We may follow justice for the good it procures us, but we cannot love it but for itself, that only for the sake of which we love being properly the object of our love. [c] As the most unjust of all men would be he, who, while he committed all sorts of crimes, should pass for just and so enjoy the honours of virtue and the pleasures of vice; so the perfectly just man would be he who should love justice for itself, and not for the honours and pleasures which accompany it; who should pass for unjust while he practised the most exact justice; who should not suffer himself to be

[c] *See Plat. Rep. lib. 2. p. 36.*

moved

moved by ignominy, diſtreſs or the moſt cruel ſufferings, but ſhould continue ſtedfaſt in the love of juſtice, not becauſe it is delightful, but becauſe it is juſt. 'Tis thus that the Gods do good from the pure love of good; the ſoul is an image of their ſubſtance, conſequently ſhe may imitate them and love virtue for itſelf; the perception of truth may act as ſtrongly upon her as the ſenſation of pleaſure.

Ever ſince the iron age began, men are ſo blinded that they do not comprehend this ſublime love of virtue; the philoſophers themſelves arrive to it but by ſlow degrees; wiſdom, in purifying the heart, accommodates herſelf to the weakneſs of our diſtemper'd and imperfect nature. [f] The divine Themis inebriates us at firſt with heavenly delights to counterballance in us the weight of terreſtrial pleaſures. She allures us by a ſweet ſmile, enchants us by her looks all charming, tranſports us by the amiable truths ſhe preſents to the mind; we then adhere to virtue for the ſake of thoſe ſweets that accompany it: But in proportion as the ſoul withdraws from outward objects her love becomes more exalted, more delicate and more generous; ſhe enters deeply into herſelf, concentres all her powers, and retires into her ſpiritual nature; ſhe ſees all the windings and turnings of the heart, ſhe diſcovers all the enormities of her ſelf-love which made her refer all her virtues to herſelf, and practiſe them only out of vanity, that ſhe might become the idol of men by an uſurpation upon the rights of the Gods; ſhe ſuffers inexpreſſible pains to expiate theſe ſecret iniquities; ſhe at length gets out of herſelf, riſes above herſelf, ſeparates and diſengages herſelf from

[f] *See Plotinus, Pſellus, Jamblichus, Porphyry and the Platoniſts of the third century, when they ſpeak of the purification of the ſoul.*

every

every thing, that she may be united to the immutable Beauty, and behold him with that eye with which alone he can be seen; then it is that she brings forth not the shadows of virtue, but the virtues themselves, she becomes immortal and the friend of God [g]. Such is the immutable law of Themis, the human virtues are acquired with pleasure, but deification only by sufferings, and by being stript of every thing that is mortal and terrestrial in us. It was thus that Hercules found exquisite pleasures in his twelve labours, and in all the exploits of an heroic virtue; but he was not deify'd till he had pass'd through the purifying flames of Themis, which your poets have represented by those of his funeral-pile on mount Oeta. They consumed the poison'd robe of the Centaur, of the monster Typhon, and of the evil principle, which that son of Jupiter had put on to give us an example of perfect virtue; in the midst of the devouring flames he rejoiced at the destruction of all that he had receiv'd from his mother Alcmene; the sight of the immutable order so ravished and transported him out of himself, that he could not give a thought to his own happiness.

Here Anaximander cry'd out with fury, Pythagoras is ignorant of the history of the Gods, he says we must resemble them, they swim in delights above, and descend upon earth only to please themselves with the terrestrial Goddesses; Jupiter himself is an instance of it; to imitate them is to pursue pleasure; Pythagoras artfully endeavours to create in you a brutal indifference for the feast of the Gods, make you despise Nectar and Ambrosia, and destroy in you the invincible desire of happiness natural to all intelligences; I give you warning of the horrible consequences of his system, beware of his sophistry.

[g] *Plato's feast, p.* 212.

[h] Justice,

[h] Juſtice, reply'd I with an intrepid air, is amiable for itſelf; if we love it only for the advantages it procures us we are not good but politic; 'tis the higheſt injuſtice to love juſtice only for the ſake of reward; to aſpire to the table of the Gods merely to pleaſe and delight ourſelves, is not to love the ſovereign good, 'tis to degrade it and make it ſubſervient to our intereſt. It was thus that ſouls fell from the ſublime place in heaven, they loved nectar and ambroſia more than truth, and ſeparated the love of pleaſure from the love of order. To love the ſovereign BEAUTY only as beneficent, is to love him for the finite participation of his gifts; 'tis to love him for what he does in us, and not for what he is in himſelf; 'tis to ſeparate the ſovereign goodneſs from the ſupreme juſtice; to love the immutable BEAUTY for his perfection, is to love him for his immenſe totality; 'tis to love him for what we know of him and not for what we feel of him; 'tis to love without meaſure the Being without limits; and it is this love which dilates, elevates, deifies and gives a kind of immenſity to the ſoul. I maintain therefore with all the ancients that we are not to deſire admittance to the table of the Gods, but as a ſtate in which we are united to the ſovereign BEAUTY, transform'd into his image and perfected in his love. Is Olympus leſs the object of our deſire, becauſe we deſire it from a motive worthy of the Gods? Do we love the Gods the leſs, becauſe we prefer their friendſhip to the nectar that is drunk at their table?

O Samians! Anaximander endeavours not only to cloud your minds but to corrupt your manners; he deceives you by ſticking to the literal ſenſe of your Mythology. The Gods who are exempt from human frailties do not deſcend upon earth to ſatisfy

[h] *See Diſc. p.* 33.

any

any passions; all that wise antiquity tells us of the amours of Jupiter and the other Divinities, are but an ingenious allegory to represent the pure communications of the Gods with mortals since the iron age. Your philosophers always describe virtue to us as a divine energy descending from heaven, they continually speak of guardian Deities, who inspire, enlighten and strengthen us, to shew that heroic virtues can proceed from the Gods alone; but those poets who seek only to please and to strike the imagination by heaping wonders upon wonders, have disfigured your Mythology by their fictions.

Here Anaximander cry'd out again with an air of zeal and enthusiasm; Will you suffer, O Samians, your religion to be thus destroyed, by turning its mysteries into allegories, blaspheming against the sacred books of your poets, and denying the most undoubted facts of tradition? Pythagoras overthrows your altars, your temples and your priesthood, that he may lead you to impiety, under pretence of destroying superstition. A confused murmur immediately rose in the assembly; they were divided in their sentiments; the greatest part of the priests called me impious and an enemy of religion. Perceiving then the deep dissimulation of Anaximander and the blind zeal of the people who were deluded by sophistry, it was impossible for me to contain my self, and raising my voice I said:

O King, priests and Samians, hearken to me for the last time. I would not at first lay open the mysteries of Anaximander's monstrous system, nor endeavour in a public assembly to render his person odious as he has labour'd to do mine; hitherto I have respected his grey hairs, but now that I see the pit of destruction into which he seeks to hurry you, I can no longer be silent without being false to the Gods and to my country. Anaximander seems to you to be zealous for religion, but in reality he endeavours

deavours to deſtroy it. Hear what his principles are, which he teaches in ſecret to thoſe who will liſten to him. There is nothing in the univerſe but matter and motion; in the fruitful boſom of an infinite matter every thing is produc'd by an eternal revolution of forms; the deſtruction of ſome is the birth of others; the different ranging of the atoms is what alone makes the different ſorts of minds, but all is diſſipated and plung'd again into the ſame abyſs after death. According to Anaximander, that which is now ſtone, wood, metal, may be diſſolv'd and transform'd not only into water, air and pure flame, but into rational ſpirit; according to him our own idle fears have dug the infernal pit, and our own ſcared imagination is the ſource of thoſe famous rivers which flow in gloomy Tartarus; our ſuperſtition has peopled the celeſtial regions with Gods and Demi-Gods, and it is our vanity which makes us imagine that we ſhall one day drink nectar with them; according to him goodneſs and malice, virtue and vice, juſtice and injuſtice, are but names which we give to things as they pleaſe or diſpleaſe us; men are born vicious or virtuous, as tygers are born fierce and lambs mild; all is the effect of an invincible fatality, and we think that we chuſe only becauſe the ſweetneſs of pleaſure hides the force which irreſiſtibly draws us. This, O Samians, is the dreadful precipice to which he would lead you.

While I was ſpeaking, the Gods declared themſelves. Before the diſpute, the high prieſt of Delphos had been conſulted about my doctrine; his deciſions are always agreeable to the will of the great Apollo; the anſwer he ſent to the prieſts of Samos was this; 'You accuſe Pythagoras of erring thro' 'an exceſs of love for the ſupreme Beauty, and I 'accuſe you of erring through a want of friendſhip 'for your fellow citizen; the God whom I ſerve 'equally

'equally abhors those who aspire not to the plea-
'sures of Olympus, and those who desire them only
'to gratify their passions; mortals have often need
'to think of nectar and ambrosia, in order to re-
'ject the enchanting cup of Circe which transforms
'men into hogs; but when the Goddess Minerva
'descends into heroes, they perform noble actions
'from noble motives; pure pleasures accompany
'them, glory environs them, immortality follows
'them, but virtue is alone their object.' Scarce had they read this answer of the pontiff, when a divine voice seemed to come from the innermost part of the temple, and to say, 'The Gods do
'good for the sole love of good, you cannot ho-
'nour them worthily but by resembling them.'[1] The priests and the multitude, who were more struck with the prodigy than they had been with the truth, chang'd their sentiments and declar'd in my favour. Anaximander perceived it, and imagining that I had corrupted the pontiffs in order to delude the people, hid himself under a new kind of hypocrisy, and said to the assembly, The Oracle has spoken and I must be silent: I believe, but I am not yet enlighten'd; my heart is touch'd but my understanding is not convinc'd; I desire to discourse with Pythagoras in private, and to be instructed by his reasonings. Being moved and softned with Anaximander's seeming sincerity, I embraced him with tears of joy in the presence of the King and the pontiffs, and conducted him to my own house. The impious wretch imagining that it was impossible for a man of sense not to think as he did, believ'd that I affected this zeal for religion only to throw a mist before the eyes of the people and gain their suffrages. We were no sooner alone than he changed his stile and said to me:

[1] *See Hier. aur. carm.*

Teh

The diſpute between us is reduced to this queſtion; whether the eternal Nature acts with wiſdom or deſign, or takes all ſorts of forms by a blind neceſſity: Let us not dazzle our eyes with vulgar prejudices; a Philoſopher cannot believe but when he is forced to it by a complete evidence; I reaſon only upon what I ſee, and I ſee nothing in all nature but an immenſe matter and an infinite activity; this active matter is eternal; now an infinite active force muſt, in an eternal duration, of neceſſity give all ſorts of forms to an immenſe matter; it has had other forms than what we ſee at preſent, and it will take new ones; every thing has changed, and does change, and will change, and this is ſufficient for the production not only of this world, but of numberleſs worlds inviſible to us.

What you offer, reply'd I, is nothing but ſophiſtry inſtead of proof. You ſee nothing in all nature, ſay you, but an infinite activity and an immenſe matter; I allow it; but does it follow from thence, that the infinite activity is a property of matter? Matter is eternal (add you) and it may be ſo, becauſe the infinite force which is always acting may have always produced it; but do you conclude from thence that it is the only exiſting ſubſtance? I ſhall agree alſo that an all-powerful, active force may in an eternal duration give all ſorts of forms to an immenſe matter; but is this a proof that that force acts by a blind neceſſity and without deſign? Tho' I ſhould admit your principles, I muſt deny your conſequences, which ſeem to me abſolutely falſe. My reaſons are theſe:

The idea which we have of matter does not include that of active force; matter does not ceaſe to be matter when in perfect reſt; it cannot reſtore motion to itſelf when it has loſt it; from whence I conclude that it is not active of itſelf, and conſequently that infinite force is not one of its properties.

ties. Further, I perceive in myself and in several beings with which I am encompass'd, a reasoning principle which feels, thinks, compares and judges: Motion only changes the situation or figure of bodies; now it is absurd to suppose that matter without thought and sensation can become sensible and intelligent merely by shifting its place, or changing its figure; there is no connection between these ideas; I allow that the quickness of our sensations depends often upon the motion of the humours in the body, and this proves that spirit and body may be united, but by no means that they are the same; and from the whole I conclude, that there is in nature another substance besides matter, and consequently that there may be a sovereign intellect much superior to mine, to yours, and to those of all other men. In order to know whether there be such an intellect, I sally out of myself, I run over all the wonders of the universe, I observe the constancy and regularity of its laws, the fruitfulness and variety of its productions, the connection and suitableness of its parts, the conformation of animals, the structure of plants, the order of the elements and the revolutions of the heavenly bodies: I cannot doubt but that all is the effect of art, contrivance and a supreme wisdom. I then draw a veil over all the beings with which I am encompass'd; I consider them only as phantoms, mere appearances and illusions; I shut my eyes, I stop my ears, I return again into myself, to consider that reasoning principle which I have already proved not to be material, which might subsist though all bodies were annihilated, and which shews me all objects without presenting itself to my view. Since there cannot be an eternal succession of effects without a cause, it follows necessarily that he who made this intelligent principle must be himself intelligent; hence I conclude that the INFINITE FORCE which you acknowledge

knowledge to be in nature is a SOVEREIGN INTELLIGENCE. When I thus return into myself, I again perceive the great Jupiter whom you would hide from my eyes; I find myself at present alone with him, he is sufficient to me, he continually acts upon me, he is the cause of all my sensations and of all my thoughts; he can represent numberless worlds to me, though there were nothing in all nature but he and I. Earth, air and heaven, planets and stars, universal nature, I behold you no more; vain shadows, imperfect images, disfigured pictures, you are vanish'd away, I perceive nothing but your original and your cause, I am swallow'd up, I lose my self in his bosom, and I need only feel my own being to be convinc'd of his.

I remember, said Cyrus, that Zoroaster laid open to me all these truths: A superficial view of the wonders of the universe might leave the mind in some uncertainty, but when we descend to particulars, when we enter into the sanctuary of nature and study its secrets, laws and effects to the bottom, when we are well acquainted with ourselves, and compare what we feel within us with what we see without us, it is impossible any longer to hesitate: I do not see how Anaximander cou'd resist the force of your arguments.

He answer'd me, Your reasoning is plausible, but has no solidity in it; you always shun the main question by the dextrous agility of your mind. I agree with you, that there cannot be an eternal succession of effects without a [k] first cause; this would be an infinite chain hanging upon nothing, an immense weight without a support; I likewise allow that the

[k] *Spinoza never supposed an eternal succession of second causes without a first. He confutes that opinion by Mr. Wollaston's argument, which is the same that Anaximander uses here. See Spin. Epist.* 29.

idea

idea of matter does not include that of active force, as the idea of active force does not include that of wisdom; because the different attributes of one and the same essence may be separately conceiv'd. Lastly, I grant that bodies do not become intelligent by changing of place and figure; but you ascribe to matter properties which it has not: Matter and extension are the same thing [l]; now you know that extension has neither colour, nor smell, nor taste; and I add that it has neither fix'd bounds, nor distinct parts, nor real motions: All these qualities are but ideas [m], or perceptions of the soul, caus'd by the action of the immense [n] extension, which shews itself successively to us under different forms: This principle being laid down my real doctrine is this. We cannot banish from our minds the ideas of eternity, immensity and infinity, they every where present themselves to us; we can explain nothing without them; These three properties are therefore the attributes of some eternal, immense and [o] absolutely infinite Being; there can be no other [p] substance but his, it is one and it is all; it is the universal being, and is both [q] extended and intellectual; what makes the [r] diversity of beings is not any real distinction of substance, but the difference of form; the [s] eternal nature acts continually within itself, by itself and upon itself, according to the whole extent of its infinite power, and thereby necessarily produces all

[l] *Descartes.* [m] *Dr. Berkley.* [n] *F. Malebranche.*
[o] *Spinoza says expresly the same things, Deus est Ens absolutè infinitum.* [p] *Præter Deum nulla dari neque concipi potest substantia.* [q] *Cogitatio est attributum Dei, sive Deus est res cogitans. Extensio est attributum Dei, sive Deus est res extensa. Substantia cogitans & substantia extensa una eademque est substantia, quæ jam sub hoc jam sub illo attributo concipitur.*
[r] *Res particulares nihil sunt nisi Dei attributorum modi.*
[s] *Ex necessitate naturæ divinæ infinita infinitis modis sequi debent. Deus est omnium rerum causa immanens, non verò transiens.*

sorts

ſorts of forms; this boundleſs [z] power is not reſtrain'd by thoſe rules which are call'd wiſdom, goodneſs and juſtice, for theſe belong to finite beings, and by no means to the infinite. Let me ſee you attack this ſyſtem with ſolid reaſons, without ſeeking to dazzle my eyes with metaphors, allegories and the looſe declamations of an orator.

I anſwer'd; If you only maintained, that all eſſences are but different forms of the divine eſſence, that our ſouls are portions of the ſoul of the world, and our bodies parts of his immenſe extenſion, you would not be an atheiſt, but you would hold abſurdities with many other [a] philoſophers who have a ſincere abhorrence of all impiety. They ſuppoſe as you do that there is in all nature but one ſubſtance, that the whole univerſe is an emanation from the divine eſſence, or an expanſion of it; but they believe that there is an infinite Spirit who preſides over all ſpirits, a ſovereign Wiſdom that governs the world, a ſupreme goodneſs that loves all its productions; they never imagin'd as you do, that the one only Subſtance acts without intelligence or juſtice, without knowing or having any regard to the immutable relations and eſſential differences between beings; your atheiſm lies there; and what proof do you offer for your opinion? In order to demonſtrate and convince, is it enough to heap propoſition upon propoſition, take for granted and affirm boldly?

He replied with an haughty aſſurance, my whole ſyſtem turns upon this ſingle [b] principle, that there is

[z] *Intellectus, voluntas, amor ad modos Dei ſive entia particularia pertinent, non ad ſubſtantiam æternam & infinitam. Vid. Spin. Eth. Part. 1. Def. 6. Prop. 8, 13, 16, 18, 25. 31. & Part 2. Prop. 1, 2, 7, 10. & Scholia.*

[a] *It was the opinion of the Stoicks, of ſome of the diſciples of Orpheus. and of the ancient Pantheiſts, and is held by ſome of the modern Chineſe. See Diſc. p. 22.*

[b] *All Spinoza's book. his definitions, axioms, propoſitions, corollaries*

is but one only substance in nature; this being demonstrated, all the rest follows by necessary and unavoidable consequence. Now this great principle I prove thus; when the eternal Being produces new substances, he gives them something or nothing; if he gives them nothing he will never produce any thing, if he gives them a part of his own essence, he does not produce a new substance but a new form; this is demonstration: Provided the unity of substance be not destroyed, it is indifferent to me how it is called, whether soul or body, spirit or matter, intelligent or intelligible extension [c].

When the great Jupiter, said I, creates, he does not draw a being out of nothing, as out of a subject which contains in it some reality, neither does he divide his essence to make a separate substance of it, but he makes something exist which did not exist before: Now to make a substance exist which was not before, has nothing in it more inconceivable than to make a form exist which was not before; since in both cases there is a new reality produced, and whatever difficulties there are in conceiving the passage from non-existence to being, they are as puzzling in the one as in the other: You cannot deny

rollaries and scholia tend to prove this principle or flow from it; this once destroy'd, all this system falls to the ground.

[c] *This is the use which the Spinozists have made of the systems maintained by Descartes, Malebranche and Dr. Berkley, contrary to the intention of those three Philosophers. The first says, that matter and extension are the same thing; the second affirms, that the immediate object of our sensations is an intelligible, eternal, immutable, infinite extension; the third endeavours to prove, that there is no such thing as body, that all is spirit. Malebranche thinks that Descartes does not extend his principle far enough; and Berkley accuses Malebranche of stopping too soon: The Spinozists pretend to reconcile all three by admitting but one only substance. It must nevertheless be allow'd that there is an essential difference between these three Philosophers and Spinoza, since they teach that there is a real distinction between the infinite Essence and created essences.*

a creating [d] energy, without denying for the ſame reaſon all active force. Thus your eternal nature is reduced to a formleſs maſs, or to an infinite ſpace without action and power, as well as without wiſdom and goodneſs. Where will you find an active Deity to reduce that chaos to order, or to fill that immenſe ſpace: But I will reſtore you, out of compaſſion, that active principle and that moving force, which you have need of to form your world; I will ſuppoſe, contrary to all reaſon and evidence, that your eternal nature acts as neceſſarily as it exiſts, you will gain nothing by this conceſſion, you will only plunge yourſelf into a new abyſs of contradictions more abſurd and more frightful than the firſt. You cannot deny that there are in nature beings who ſuffer, and others that do not ſuffer, intelligences that are ignorant, and others who have knowledge; ſome who deny, others who affirm, and others who doubt of the ſame things; intelligences who love and hate the ſame objects, and who often change their thoughts, ſentiments and paſſions: Now is it conceivable that the ſame immutable, immenſe, infinite Subſtance ſhould be at the ſame time knowing and ignorant, happy and unhappy, a friend and an enemy of its own nature? Does this monſtrous aſſemblage of variable, bounded, fantaſtical and jarring forms ſquare with the attributes you aſcribe to the eternal Nature? You may weaken your underſtanding by too much refining, you may exhauſt yourſelf by ſpinning a thin web of ſophiſms, you may wrap yourſelf up in theſe cobwebs, and endeavour to entangle light fluttering minds in them; but I defy you to conſider attentively the conſequences of your ſyſtem without horror and ſhame: What motive is it that cou'd induce you to prefer the ſyſtem of a blind nature to that of a wiſe Intelligence? Do but aſcend

[d] *Plato calls it* Ποιητικὴ Δύναμις. *See Diſc. p.* 27.

to

to first principles, make use of that accuracy in which you formerly excell'd, and you will find that the infinite Being, which you admit equally with me, is not universal being, but a being vastly distinct from all others; that he has produced new substances as well as new forms; that he knows himself and all his productions; that he loves himself essentially, and all other beings in proportion to the degrees of reality he has communicated to them; that he is by consequence supremely powerful, wise and good; that it is absurd to conceive what is only power, wisdom and goodness, under the form of length, breadth and thickness; that he may exist every where without extension of parts, as he knows every thing without succession of thoughts; that infinite extension is not his immensity, as infinite time is not his eternity; that space is only the manner in which bodies exist in him, as time is only the manner in which created beings exist with him; and lastly, that variable and finite beings are not different forms of his substance but free effects of his power. Examine geometrically this chain of consequences drawn from the idea of the eternal, immense, infinite Being; descend from the first to the last, remount from the last to the first, and you will see that they are all of them necessarily link'd together; every step you take you will discern new rays of light, which, when they are all united, form a complete evidence: I challenge you to shew me where it fails.

Thrice he essay'd to speak, and thrice his perplex'd mind endeavour'd in vain to rally its confus'd ideas; at length he collected all the powers of his understanding, and answer'd me thus: The universe is full of defects and vices, I see every where beings that are unhappy and wicked; now I cannot conceive how sufferings and crimes can begin or subsist under the empire of a being supremely good, wise and powerful: If he be wise he must have foreseen them,

if he be powerful he might have hinder'd them, and if he be good he would have prevented them. Here is therefore as manifeſt a contradiction in your ſyſtem as in mine; you muſt deny that there are crimes and miſeries in the univerſe, or that there is a ſovereign Wiſdom and Goodneſs that governs it; take your choice.

How, anſwer'd I, will you deny what you ſee clearly becauſe you do not ſee further? The ſmalleſt light induces us to believe, but the greateſt obſcurity is not a ſufficient reaſon for denying: In this dawn of human life the lights of the underſtanding are too faint to ſhew us truth with a perfect evidence; we only get a glimpſe of it by a chance ray, which ſuffices to conduct us; but it is not ſuch a broad daylight as diſpels all obſcurity. You deny a creating power becauſe you do not conceive how it operates; you reject an eternal Wiſdom becauſe you know not the ſecret reaſons of its conduct; you refuſe to acknowledge a ſovereign Goodneſs becauſe you do not comprehend how evil can ſubſiſt under its government. O Anaximander! is this reaſoning? A thing is not becauſe you do not ſee it? All your difficulties are reduced to this.

You do me injuſtice, reply'd the wretched old man, who began to waver and to change his ſtile, I neither affirm nor deny any thing, but I doubt of every thing, becauſe I ſee nothing certain, nothing but what is wrapt up in darkneſs; and this obſcurity reduces me to the neceſſity of fluctuating for ever in a ſea of uncertainties; there is no ſuch thing as demonſtration [a]. It does not follow that a thing is true becauſe it appears ſo; a mind which is deceived often, may be deceived always; and this poſſibility is alone ſufficient to make me doubt of every thing.

Such is the nature of our underſtanding, reply'd

[a] *See Diſc. p. 40.*

I,

I, that we cannot refuse to do homage to truth when it is clearly discern'd, we are forced to acquiesce, we are no longer free to doubt: Now this impossibility of doubting is what men call conviction, evidence, demonstration: The mind of man can go no farther. This light strikes with equal force upon all minds, it has an irresistible power over Scythians and Indians, Greeks and Barbarians, Gods and men; and it can therefore be nothing else but a ray of that eternal Wisdom which enlightens all intelligences. This light is the last tribunal for trying our ideas, we cannot appeal from it without ceasing to be reasonable. To doubt contrary to all reason is extravagance; to pretend to doubt when the evidence makes doubting impossible is adding insincerity to folly. See to what a dilemma you are reduced by too much refining; observe the inconstancy of your mind and the inconsistency of your reasoning; you were at first for demonstrating that there is no sovereign Intelligence; when I shew'd you that your pretended demonstrations were only loose suppositions, you then took refuge in a general doubting; and now at last your philosophy terminates in destroying reason, rejecting all evidence, and maintaining that there is no rule whereby to make any settled judgments: It is to no purpose therefore to reason longer with you.

Here I left off speaking that I might listen to what he would answer, but finding that he did not open his mouth, I imagin'd that he began to be mov'd, and I continu'd thus: I suppose that you doubt seriously, but is it want of light, or the fear of being convinc'd, which causes your doubts? Enter into yourself; truth is better felt than understood: Hearken to the voice of nature that speaks within you, she will soon rise up against all your refin'd sophistry; your heart which is born with an insatiable thirst of happiness will give your understanding the

lie, when it rejoices in the unnatural hope of its approaching extinction; once again, I say, enter into yourself, impose silence upon your imagination, let not your passions blind you, and you will find in the inmost of your soul an inexpressible feeling of the Divinity which will dispel your doubts: It is by hearkening to this internal evidence that your understanding and your heart will be reconciled; on their reconcilement depends the peace of the soul, and it is in this tranquillity alone that we can hear the voice of wisdom, which supplies the defects of our reasonings. O my father, my dear father, where are you? I seek you in yourself without finding you: What is become of that divine man who formerly carried me thro' all the regions of immensity, who taught me to run back thro' all times to eternity itself? What then is become of that sublime, subtile and extensive understanding? What cloud of passions has obscur'd it? What midnight of prejudice is cast over it? Here I fix'd my eyes upon him to see whether my arguments or sentiments had made any impression on his mind, but he look'd upon me with the disdainful smile of a haughty soul that hides her weakness and despair under an air of contempt. I then held my peace and invok'd the heavenly Minerva in a profound silence; I pray'd to her to enlighten him, but she was deaf to me because he was deaf to her; he saw not the truth because he loved it not.

Here Pythagoras ceas'd, and Cyrus said to him: You join the most affecting considerations with the most solid arguments; whether we consult the idea of the first cause or the nature of its effects, the happiness of man or the good of society, reason or experience, all conspire to prove your system; but to believe that of Anaximander we must take for granted what can never with the least reason be imagin'd, that motion is an essential property of matter, that

matter

matter is the only existing substance, and that the infinite force acts without knowledge or design, notwithstanding all the marks of wisdom that shine throughout the universe. I do not conceive how men can hesitate between the two systems; the one is obscure to the understanding, denies all consolation to the heart, and is destructive of society; the other is full of light and of comfortable ideas, produces noble sentiments and confirms us in all the duties of civil life. One of the two systems must be true; the eternal Being is either blind nature or a wise intelligence; there is no medium; you have shewn that the first opinion is false and absurd, the other therefore is evidently true and solid. Your arguments have darted a pure light into the inmost of my soul: You seem nevertheless to have left your adversary's objection concerning the origin of evil in its full strength; help me to answer this grand difficulty. Here Pythagoras ran through all the different opinions of the philosophers without being able to satisfy Cyrus; the Prince found a solution of this difficulty no where but among the Hebrews; but though he was not content with the answers of the Samian on this head, he wou'd not make him feel the weakness of them, nor let him perceive that he himself was sensible of it; he dexterously shifted the question, and returning to his dispute, make haste to tell me, said he, O wise Pythagoras! what impression your discourse made upon Anaximander.

He withdrew, answered the Philosopher, in confusion and despair and with a resolution to ruin me. As weak eyes which the sun dazzles and blinds, such was the heart of Anaximander; neither prodigies nor proofs, nor touching considerations can move the soul, when error has seiz'd upon the understanding by the corruption of the heart. Since my departure from Samos, I hear that he is fallen

into the wild extravagance which I had foreſeen: Being reſolv'd to believe nothing which could not be demonſtrated with geometrical evidence, he is come not only to doubt of the moſt certain truths, but to believe the greateſt abſurdities. He maintains, without any allegory, that all he ſees is but a dream; that all the men who are about him are phantoms; that it is he himſelf who ſpeaks to and anſwers himſelf, when he converſes with them; that the heaven and the earth, the ſtars and the elements, plants and trees, are only illuſions; and in a word, that there is nothing real but himſelf: At firſt he was for deſtroying the divine Eſſence to ſubſtitute a blind nature in its place; at preſent he has deſtroyed that nature itſelf, and maintains that he is the only exiſtent being [a]. Thus ended the converſation between Cyrus and Pythagoras. The Prince was touch'd with the conſideration of the weakneſs of human underſtanding; he ſaw by the example of Anaximander, that the moſt ſubtile genius's may go gradually from impiety to extravagance, and fall into a philoſophical delirium, which is as real a madneſs as any other. Cyrus went the next day to ſee the Sage, in order to put ſome queſtions to him about the laws of Minos.

The profound peace, ſaid he to Pythagoras, which is at preſent in Perſia gives me leiſure to travel; I am going over the moſt famous countries to collect uſeful knowledge; I have been in Egypt where I have inform'd myſelf in the laws and government of that kingdom; I have travell'd over Greece to acquaint myſelf with the different republics which compoſe it, eſpecially thoſe of Lacedæmon and Athens. The ancient laws of Egypt ſeem to me to have been excellent and founded in nature, but

[a] *The language of the modern Egomiſts and of Carneades heretofore. See Diſc. p. 39.*

its

its form of government was defective; the Kings had no bridle to restrain them; the thirty judges did not share the supreme authority with them; they were but the interpreters of the laws. Despotic power and conquests at last destroyed that empire. I fear that Athens will be ruin'd by a contrary fault; its government is too popular and tumultuous: The laws of Solon are good, but he had not sufficient authority to reform the genius of a people that have an unbounded inclination for liberty, luxury and pleasure. Lycurgus has provided a remedy for the defects which ruin'd Egypt and will destroy Athens; but his laws are too contrary to nature: Equality of ranks and community of goods cannot subsist long; as soon as the Lacedæmonians shall have extended their dominion in Greece, they will doubtless throw off the yoke of these laws; they restrain the passions on one side but indulge them too much on another, and while they proscribe sensuality they favour ambition. None of these three forms of government seem to me to be perfect; I have been told that Minos heretofore establish'd one in this island, which was free from the defects I have mention'd.

Pythagoras admired the young Prince's penetration, and conducted him to the temple where the laws of Minos were kept in a gold box; they contain'd all that regarded religion, morality and policy, and whatever might contribute to the knowledge of the Gods, ourselves and other men: Cyrus found in this sacred book all that was excellent in the laws of Egypt, Sparta and Athens, and thereby perceiv'd, that as Minos had borrowed from the Egyptians, so Lycurgus and Solon were indebted to the Cretan law-giver for the most valuable parts of their institutions; and it was upon this model also that Cyrus form'd those admirable laws which he established in his empire after he had conquer'd Asia.

Pythagoras after this explain'd to him the form of government of ancient Crete, and how it provided equally againſt deſpotic power and anarchy. One would think, added the Philoſopher, that a government ſo perfect in all its parts ſhould have ſubſiſted for ever, but there hardly remain any traces of it. The ſucceſſors of Minos degenerated by degrees; they did not think themſelves great enough while they were only guardians of the laws; they would ſubſtitute their arbitrary will in the place of them. The Cretans oppos'd the innovation; from thence ſprang diſcords and civil wars; in theſe tumults the Kings were dethron'd, exil'd or put to death, and uſurpers took their place; theſe uſurpers to flatter the people weakened the authority of the nobles; the Comes or deputies of the people invaded the ſovereign authority; the monarchy at firſt ſhaken and then deſpis'd was at laſt aboliſh'd, and the government became popular. Such is the ſad condition of human things. The deſire of unbounded authority in Princes, and the love of independence in the people, expoſe all kingdoms to inevitable revolutions; nothing is fix'd or ſtable among men. Cyrus perceiv'd by this, that the ſafety and happineſs of a kingdom do not depend ſo much upon the wiſdom of laws, as upon that of Kings. All ſorts of government are good when thoſe who govern ſeek only the public welfare, but they are all defective becauſe the governors being but men are imperfect.

After ſeveral ſuch converſations with the wiſe Samian, the Prince prepar'd to continue his travels, and at parting ſaid to him, I am extremely concern-ed to ſee you abandoned to the cruelty of capricious fortune! How happy ſhould I be to ſpend my life with you in Perſia! I will not offer you pleaſures or riches which allure other men; I know you would be little mov'd by them; you are above the favours

of

of Kings becauſe you ſee the vanity of human grandeur; but I offer you in my dominions peace, liberty and the ſweet leiſure which the Gods grant to thoſe who love wiſdom. I ſhould have a ſincere joy, reply'd Pythagoras, to live under your protection with Zoroaſter and the Magi, but I muſt follow the orders given me by the oracle of Apollo; a mighty empire is riſing in Italy which will one day become maſter of the world; its form of government is like that eſtabliſhed in Crete by Minos; the genius of the people is as warlike as that of the Spartans; the generous love of their country, the eſteem of perſonal poverty in order to augment the public treaſure, the noble and diſintereſted ſentiments which prevail among the citizens, their contempt of pleaſure and their ardent zeal for liberty, render them fit to conquer the whole world; I am to introduce there the knowledge of the Gods and of laws. I muſt leave you but I will never forget you; my heart will follow you every where; you will doubtleſs extend your conqueſts as the oracles have foretold: May the Gods preſerve you then from being intoxicated by ſovereign authority! May you long feel the pleaſure of reigning only to make other men happy! Fame will inform me of your ſucceſſes: I ſhall often ask, has not grandeur made a change in the heart of Cyrus? Does he ſtill love virtue? Does he continue to fear the Gods? Though we now part we ſhall meet again in the abode of the juſt; I ſhall doubtleſs deſcend thither before you; I will there expect your Manes. Ah Cyrus! how joyful ſhall I be to ſee you again after death among the good Kings, who are crown'd by the Gods with an immortal glory! Farewel, Prince, farewel, and remember that you never employ your power but to execute the dictates of your goodneſs.

Cyrus was ſo much affected that he could not anſwer; he reſpectfully embraced the old man and

bedew'd his face with tears; but in ſhort they muſt ſeparate: Pythagoras embark'd very ſoon for Italy, and the Prince in a Phœnician veſſel for Tyre. As Cyrus was ſailing from Crete, and the coaſts of Greece began to diſappear, he felt an inward regret, and calling to mind all he had ſeen, ſaid to Araſpes: What! is this the nation that was repreſented to me as ſo ſuperficial and trifling? I have found there great men of all kinds, profound philoſophers, able captains, wiſe politicians, and genius's capable of reaching to all heights, and of going to the bottom of things. Other nations methinks don't do the Greeks juſtice.

I cannot admire, anſwer'd Araſpes, either their talents or their ſciences; the Chaldeans and Egyptians ſurpaſs them exceedingly in all ſolid knowledge. Lycurgus, Solon, Thales and Pythagoras would never have known any thing if they had not travell'd in Egypt and the Eaſt: All that they have added to our philoſophy has been only ſo much allay to it. The doctrine of [b] Thales is a ſeries of looſe ſuppoſitions; his etherial fluid is a mere whim and not at all geometrical; what compariſon between his philoſophy and that of [c] Moſchus the Phœnician? Beſides I don't find any thing of the original, creating, maſculine genius in the Greek poets and orators, but a diffus'd ſtile, ſuperfluous flowers, ideas that ſeem clear and tranſparent only becauſe they are light and thin; their pretty thoughts,

[b] *He introduced mathematics and phyſics into Greece, as Deſcartes reviv'd the taſte of them in Europe.*

[c] *He was the firſt who taught the atomical doctrine, not in the ſenſe of Democritus and Epicurus, but in that of Sir Iſaac Newton. See Opt. pag.* 407. *Moſchus and the Phœnicians believed, that after the chaos the plaſtic ſpirit of the univerſe had brought the atoms together by love,* ἠρέσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχῶν, *this is the manner in which the ancients expreſſed the doctrine of attraction.*

ingenious

ingenious turns and pretended delicacies proceed wholly from the infant weakneſs of their underſtanding, which cannot riſe to the ſublime, and continually hovers about the ſurface of objects: In a word, all that I admire in the Greeks is their politeneſs, their converſable qualities, their taſte for pleaſure and their continual joy; they purchaſe happineſs at a cheaper rate than other nations.

It is true, reply'd Cyrus, we find ſublime ideas and uſeful diſcoveries among the Chaldeans and Egyptians, but their depth of ſcience is often full of obſcurity; they know not like the Greeks how to come at hidden truths by a chain of known and eaſy ones; that ingenious method of ranging each idea in its proper place, of leading the mind by degrees from the moſt ſimple truths to the moſt compounded, with order, perſpicuity and accuracy, is a ſecret with which the Chaldeans and Egyptians, who boaſt of having more of original genius, are little acquainted. This nevertheleſs is the true ſcience by which man is taught the extent and bounds of his own mind, and this is what we owe to Thales; his works and his travels ſpread this taſte in the Eaſt; what ingratitude and injuſtice to make no other uſe of his great diſcoveries than to deſpiſe him becauſe he did not diſcover all! It is true his philoſophy is not exact; but Moſchus, the great Moſchus, has not he himſelf had recourſe to an etherial fluid in order to explain his principle of attraction, which, as at firſt repreſented by his diſciples, was wholly unintelligible, a mere occult quality. I know that the Greeks love the agreeable kinds of knowledge more than abſtract ideas; the arts of imitation more than nice ſpeculations; but they do not deſpiſe the ſublime ſciences: On the contrary, they excel in them when they apply their minds to the ſtudy of them. Have we in all the

Eaſt ſuch a [d] hiſtory of phyſics as that written by Anaximenes? Don't you find beauties in Homer, the fables of Æſop, Archilochus's ſatyrs, and in the dramatic pieces which are acted at Athens to render vice odious and ridiculous? I repeat what I ſaid to Solon, the Greeks have a finer taſte than other nations. It is for want of ſenſibility that we don't ſufficiently admire the delicate thoughts, the tender paſſions, the natural and unaffected graces in their writings. The poem of Abaris the Scythian concerning the [e] ruin of the garden of the Heſperides wou'd have been more perfect if the author had been a Greek. We ſee there all the efforts of a genius that can riſe to the higheſt heaven, deſcend to the loweſt abyſs, and fly with a rapid wing from one end of immenſity to the other; yet Abaris, the admirable Abaris, does he always diſtinguiſh between the natural and the low, ſublimity and bombaſt, enthuſiaſm and fury, delicacy and ſubtility. I grant that the Greeks ſeem to be ſometimes taken up too much with trifles and amuſements; but the great men among them have the ſecret of preparing the moſt important affairs, even while they are diverting themſelves: they are ſenſible that the mind has need now and then of reſt; but in theſe relaxations they can put in motion the greateſt machines by the ſmalleſt ſprings; they look upon life as a kind of ſport, but ſuch as reſembles the Olympic games, where mirthful dancing is mix'd with laborious exerciſes. They love ſtrangers more than other nations, and their country deſerves to be ſtiled the common country of mankind. It is for theſe qualities that I prefer the Greeks to other nations, and not becauſe of their politeneſs.

[d] *A kind of hiſtory like that of the academy of ſciences in France.*

[e] *It might be ſomewhat like Milton's Paradiſe loſt.*

True

True politeneſs is common to delicate ſouls of all nations, and is not peculiar to any one people. External civility is but the form eſtabliſh'd in the different countries for expreſſing that politeneſs of the ſoul. I prefer the civility of the Greeks to that of other nations, becauſe it is more ſimple and leſs troubleſome; it excludes all ſuperfluous formality; its only aim is to render company and converſation eaſy and agreeable: But internal politeneſs is very different from that ſuperficial civility. You were not preſent that day when Pythagoras ſpoke to me upon this head; I will tell you his notion of politeneſs, to which his own practice is anſwerable. It is an evenneſs of ſoul which excludes at the ſame time both inſenſibility and too much earneſtneſs; it ſuppoſes a quickneſs in diſcerning what may ſuit the different characters of men; it is a ſweet condeſcenſion by which we adapt ourſelves to each man's taſte, not to flatter his paſſions, but to avoid provoking them. In a word, it is a forgetting of ourſelves in order to ſeek what may be agreeable to others, but in ſo delicate a manner as to let them ſcarce perceive that we are ſo employ'd: It knows how to contradict with reſpect, and to pleaſe without adulation, and is equally remote from an inſipid complaiſance and a low familiarity. Cyrus and Araſpes were diſcourſing together in this manner when they diſcover'd the coaſts of Phœnicia, and they ſoon after arriv'd at Tyre.

THE

THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

SEVENTH BOOK.

THE King of Babylon having deſtroy'd ancient Tyre, the inhabitants had built a new city in a neighbouring iſland, thirteen furlongs from the ſhore. This iſland ſtretched itſelf in form of a creſcent, and enclos'd a bay where the ſhips lay in ſhelter from the winds; divers rows of cedars beautify'd the port; and at each end of it was a fortreſs for the ſecurity of the town and of the ſhipping. In the middle of the mole was a portico of twelve rows of pillars, where, at certain hours of the day, the people of all nations aſſembled to buy and ſell; there one might hear all languages ſpoken, and ſee the manners and habits of all the different nations; ſo that Tyre ſeem'd the capital of the univerſe. A prodigious number of veſſels were floating upon the water, ſome going, others arriving; here the mariners were furling their ſails while the weary rowers enjoy'd repoſe; there one might ſee new built veſſels launched; a vaſt multitude of people cover'd the port; ſome were buſy in unloading ſhips, others in tranſporting merchandize, and others in filling the magazines;

all

all were in motion, earneſt at work, and eager in promoting trade.

Cyrus obſerv'd a good while with pleaſure this ſcene of hurry and buſineſs, and then advancing towards one end of the mole met a man whom he thought he knew: Am I deceiv'd, cry'd out the Prince, or is it Amenophis who has left his ſolitude to come into the ſociety of men? It is I, reply'd the Egyptian Sage; I have chang'd my retreat in Arabia for another at the foot of mount Libanus. Cyrus ſurpriz'd at this alteration ask'd him the reaſon: Arobal, ſaid Amenophis, is the cauſe of it; that Arobal of whom I ſpoke to you formerly, who was priſoner with me at Memphis and my fellow-ſlave in the mines of Egypt, was ſon to the King of Tyre, but knew not his birth; he has aſcended the throne of his anceſtors and his true name is Ecnibal; I enjoy a perfect tranquillity in his dominion; come and ſee a Prince who is worthy of your friendſhip. I have always had a concern for him, reply'd Cyrus, on account of your friendſhip for him, but I could never forgive his leaving you: I rejoice with you on your finding him again, I long impatiently to ſee him, and to teſtify to him the ſatisfaction I feel.

Amenophis conducted the Prince to the royal palace and preſented him to the King: noble ſouls make acquaintance at firſt ſight, nor does it require time to form ſtrict friendſhips, where a ſympathy of thoughts and ſentiments have prepared the way for them. The King of Tyre ask'd Cyrus divers queſtions about his country, his travels, and the manners of the different nations he had ſeen. He was charm'd with the noble ſentiments and delicate taſte which diſcover'd themſelves in the young Prince's diſcourſe, who on the other hand admir'd the good ſenſe and virtue of Ecnibal; he ſpent ſome days at his court, and at length deſir'd Amenophis to relate

to

to him the misfortunes of the King of Tyre, and by what means he had ascended the throne.

The Egyptian sage retir'd one day with Cyrus and Araspes into the hollow of a rock beautify'd with shell-work; from thence they had a view of the sea, the city of Tyre, and the fertile country about it; on one side mount Libanus bounded the prospect, and on the other the isle of Cyprus seem'd to fly away upon the waves; they all three sat down upon a bed of moss on the brink of a fountain whose still waters seem'd to sleep in their very source. When they had repos'd themselves a while the Egyptian sage began thus:

While Ecbinal was yet a child in his cradle his father dy'd; his uncle Itobal aspiring to the throne resolv'd to rid himself of the young Prince: But Bahal, to whom his education was committed, spread a report of his death to preserve him from the cruelty of the tyrant, and sent him to a solitary part of the country at the foot of mount Libanus, where he made him pass for his own son under the name of Arobal, without discovering his birth even to the Prince himself. When Ecnibal was in his fourteenth year, Bahal formed the design of placing him upon the throne: The usurper being appriz'd of it, clapt up the loyal Tyrian in prison and threaten'd him with the most cruel death, if he did not deliver up the young Prince into his hands. Bahal would make no discovery, being resolv'd to die rather than fail in his duty and affection for Ecnibal. In the mean while the tyrant knowing the heir of the crown to be yet living, was greatly disturb'd and incens'd. To satiate his rage and calm his disquiets he order'd all Bahal's children to be put to death: But a faithful slave having notice of it, contriv'd to save Ecnibal; so that he left Phœnicia without knowing the secret of his birth. Bahal escap'd out of prison by throwing himself from a high tower into

into the ſea; he gain'd the ſhore by ſwimming and retir'd to Babylon, where he made himſelf known to Nabuchodonoſor. To revenge himſelf for the murder of his children he ſtirr'd up that conqueror to make war upon Itobal, and to undertake the long ſiege of Tyre. The King of Babylon being informed of the bravery and capacity of Bahal, choſe him to command in chief in this expedition. Itobal was kill'd, and after the taking of the town Bahal was raiſed to the throne of Tyre by Nabuchodonoſor, who in that manner recompenſed his ſervices and fidelity. Bahal did not ſuffer himſelf to be dazzled by the luſtre of royalty: Having learned that Ecnibal had eſcaped the rage of the tyrant, his firſt care was to ſend over all Aſia to ſeek him, but he could learn no news of him; for we were then in the mines of Egypt.

Arobal having wandered a long time in Africa and loſt the ſlave, his conductor, engaged himſelf in Apries's troops, being reſolved either to end his days or to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome glorious action. I have formerly given you an account of our firſt acquaintance, our mutual friendſhip, our common ſlavery, and our ſeparation. Upon his leaving me he went to Babylon, where he was informed of the revolution which had happened at Tyre, and that Bahal, whom he believed his father, was raiſed to the throne; he left the court of Nabuchodonoſor without delay, and ſoon arriv'd in Phœnicia where he was introduced to Bahal. The good old Man loaded with years was repoſing himſelf upon a rich carpet; joy gave him ſtrength; he got up, ran to Arobal, examined him, recalled all his features, and in a word knew him to be the ſame; he could no longer contain himſelf, he fell upon his neck, embraced him, bedewed his face with tears, and cried out with tranſport; It is then you whom I ſee, it is Ecnibal himſelf, the ſon of my maſter, the child whom

whom I ſaved from the tyrant's hands, the innocent cauſe of my diſgrace and the ſubject of my glory; I can then ſhew my gratitude towards the King who is no more, by reſtoring his ſon. Ah Gods! it is thus that you recompence my fidelity, I die content. He immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to the court of Babylon to ask permiſſion of the King to reſign the crown and recognize Ecnibal for his lawful maſter. It was thus that the Prince of Tyre aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, and Bahal died ſoon after.

As ſoon as Arobal was reſtored he ſent a Tyrian to me in my ſolitude to inform me of his fortune, and to preſs me to come and live at his court: I was charmed to hear of his happineſs and to find that he ſtill loved me; I expreſſed my joy in the warmeſt manner, and ſignify'd to the Tyrian that all my deſires were ſatisfy'd ſince my friend was happy; but I abſolutely refuſed to leave my retirement: He ſent to me again to conjure me to come and aſſiſt him in the labours of royalty; I anſwered, that he was ſufficiently knowing to fulfil all his obligations, and that his paſt misfortunes would enable him to ſhun the dangers to which ſupreme authority is expoſed. At laſt, ſeeing that nothing could move me, he left Tyre under pretence of going to Babylon to do homage to the Aſſyrian King, and arrived very ſoon at my ſolitude. We tenderly embraced each other a long while: doubtleſs you thought, ſaid he to me, that I had forgotten you, that our ſeparation proceeded from the cooling of my friendſhip, and that ambition had ſeduced my heart; but you were deceived: It is true that when I left you I could no longer ſupport retirement, I had no peace in it; this reſtleſſneſs no doubt proceeded from the Gods themſelves; they drew me away to accompliſh the deſigns of their wiſdom; I could enjoy no repoſe while I reſiſted them: 'Twas thus that they con-

conducted me to the throne by unknown paths; grandeur has not chang'd my heart; shew me that absence has not diminish'd your friendship; come and support me in the midst of the toils and dangers in which an elevated state engages me. Ah! said I to him, do not force me to quit my solitude; suffer me to enjoy the repose which the Gods have granted me; grandeur excites the passions; courts are stormy seas, I have been already shipwreck'd and have happily escap'd; expose me not to the like misfortune a second time. I perceive your thoughts, reply'd Ecnibal, you are afraid of the friendship of Kings, you have experienc'd their inconstancy, you have found that their favour is frequently but the forerunner of their hatred; Apries lov'd you once and deserted you afterwards, but alas! should you compare me with Apries? No, no, reply'd I, I shall always distrust the friendship of a Prince brought up in luxury and effeminacy like the King of Egypt; but for you, who were educated far from a throne and in ignorance of your rank, and have since been try'd by such a variety of adverse fortune, I have no fear that the regal dignity should alter your sentiments: The Gods have conducted you to the throne, you must fulfil the duties incumbent upon a King, and sacrifice yourself to the publick good; but for me, nothing obliges me to engage a-new in tumult and trouble; I have no thought but to die in solitude, where wisdom nourishes my heart, and where the hope of being soon reunited to the great Osiris makes me forget all my past misfortunes.

Here a torrent of tears obliged us to silence, which Ecnibal at length breaking said to me: Has then the study of wisdom serv'd only to make Amenophis insensible? Well, if you will grant nothing to friendship, come at least to defend me from the frailties of human nature; I shall one day perhaps forget that I have been unfortunate, I may come to be unmov'd with

with the miſeries of men, ſupreme authority will perhaps poiſon my heart and render me like other Princes; come and preſerve me from the errors to which my ſtate is ever liable; come and confirm me in all thoſe maxims of virtue with which you formerly inſpir'd me; I feel that I have more need of a friend than ever. Ecnibal melted me with theſe words, and I conſented to follow him, but upon condition that I ſhould not live at court, that I ſhould never have any employment there, and that I ſhould retire into ſome ſolitary place near Tyre; I have only changed one retreat for another, that I might have the pleaſure of being nearer my friend. We left Arabia Felix, went to Babylon and ſaw there Nabuchodonoſor; but alas! how different is he now from what he was heretofore! He is no longer that conqueror who reign'd in the midſt of triumphs, and aſtoniſh'd the nations with the ſplendor of his glory; for ſome time paſt he has loſt his reaſon; he flies the ſociety of men and wanders about in the mountains and woods like a wild beaſt; how terrible a fate for ſo great a Prince! When we arriv'd at Tyre I choſe my retreat at the foot of Mount Libanus, in the ſame place where Ecnibal was brought up; I come here ſometimes to ſee him, and he goes frequently to my ſolitude; nothing can impair our friendſhip becauſe truth is the only bond of it. I ſee by this example that royalty is not as I imagin'd, incompatible with tender ſentiments; all depends on the firſt education of Princes; adverſity is the beſt ſchool for them; it is there that heroes are form'd; Apries had been ſpoil'd by proſperity in his youth; Arobal is confirm'd in virtue by misfortunes.

Cyrus's eſteem for Ecnibal was much heighten'd by this relation; he admir'd that Prince's conſtancy in friendſhip more than all his other great qualities. During his ſtay at Tyre he was entertain'd in a very magnificent manner, and often expreſs'd to the King his

his aſtoniſhment at the ſplendor which reign'd in that city. Be not ſurpriz'd at it, anſwered the Tyrian Prince, wherever commerce flouriſhes under the protection of wiſe laws, plenty becomes quickly univerſal, and magnificence coſts the ſtate nothing. Cyrus, upon this, deſir'd the King of Tyre to explain to him how he had brought his dominions into ſuch a flouriſhing condition in ſo ſhort a time.

The wiſeſt of the Hebrew Kings, ſaid Ecnibal, ſhew'd many ages ago to what a pitch of ſplendor and magnificence commerce will raiſe a little ſtate; his ſhips ſail'd even to the remoteſt iſlands to import from thence the wealth, perfumes, and rich commodities of the Eaſt; after the ruin and captivity of the Hebrews we ſeized upon all the branches of their commerce. Tyre is happily ſituated; her inhabitants underſtand navigation; trade was at firſt perfectly free there; ſtrangers were treated as citizens of Tyre: But under the reign of Itobal all fell to ruin; inſtead of keeping our ports open according to the old cuſtom, he ſhut them up out of political views, form'd a deſign of changing the fundamental conſtitution of Phœnicia, and of rendring a nation warlike, that had always ſhunn'd having any part in the quarrels of her neighbours. By this means commerce languiſh'd, and our ſtrength diminiſh'd; Itobal drew upon us the wrath of the King of Babylon, who raz'd our ancient city and made us tributary. As ſoon as Bahal was placed upon the throne, he endeavour'd to remedy theſe miſchiefs; I have but follow'd the plan which that good Prince left me.

He began by opening his ports to ſtrangers, and by reſtoring the freedom of commerce. He declar'd that his name ſhould never be made uſe of in it, but to ſupport its rights and make its laws be obſerv'd. The authority of Princes is too formidable for other men to enter into partnerſhip with them. Commerce was carried on in the firſt republics only

by exchange of merchandiſe; but this method was found troubleſome and ſubject to many inconveniences; the value of proviſions is not always the ſame, they cannot be tranſported without expence, nor diſtributed without trouble, nor long kept without ſpoiling. It was neceſſary to have ſuch a common meaſure of the value of merchandiſe, as ſhou'd be incorruptible portable and diviſible into ſmall parts for the convenience of the pooreſt citizens. Metals ſeem'd proper for this uſe, and it is this common meaſure which is call'd money. The public treaſure having been exhauſted by long wars, there was not money enough in Phœnicia to ſet the people to work; arts languiſh'd and agriculture itſelf was neglected. Bahal engag'd the principal merchants to advance conſiderable ſums to the artizans, while the former traffic'd together upon ſafe credit; but this credit never took place among the labourers and mechanics. Coin is not only a common meaſure for regulating the price of the ſeveral kinds of merchandiſe, but it is a ſure pledge which has an intrinſic value, and pretty near the ſame in all nations. Bahal would not have this pledge ever taken out of the hands of the people, becauſe they have need of it to ſecure themſelves againſt the corruption of miniſters, the oppreſſion of the rich, and even the ill uſe which Kings might make of their authority. In order to encourage the Tyrians to work he not only left every one in the free poſſeſſion of his gain, but allotted great rewards for thoſe who ſhould excel by their genius, or diſtinguiſh themſelves by any new invention. He built great work-houſes for manufactures; he lodg'd there all thoſe who were eminent in their reſpective arts; and that their attention might not be taken off by uneaſy cares, he ſupply'd all their wants, and he flatter'd their ambition by granting them ſuch honours and diſtinctions in his capital as were ſuitable to their condition. He took off the exorbitant im-

posts, and forbad all monopolies; so that neither buyers nor sellers are under any constraint or oppression. Trade being left free, my subjects import hither in abundance all the best things which the universe affords, and they sell them at reasonable rates. All sorts of provisions pay me a very small tribute at entring; the less I fetter trade the more my treasures increase; the diminution of imposts diminishes the price of merchandise; the less dear things are the more are consum'd of them, and by this consumption my revenues exceed greatly what they would amount to by laying excessive duties. Kings who think to enrich themselves by their exactions are not only enemies to their own people, but ignorant of their own interests.

I perceive, said Cyrus, that commerce is a source of great advantages in a state; I believe that is the only secret to create plenty in great monarchies, and to repair the desolations caused there by war; numerous troops quickly exhaust a kingdom if we cannot draw subsistence for them from foreign countries by a flourishing trade. Have a care, said Amenophis, that you do not mistake. Commerce ought not to be neglected in great monarchies, but it must be regulated by other rules than in petty republics. Phœnicia carries on commerce, not only to supply her own wants but those of foreign states. As her territories are small, her strength consists in making herself useful and even necessary to all her neighbours; her merchants bring from the remotest islands the riches of nature, and distribute them afterwards among other nations. It is not her own superfluities, but those of other countries, which are the foundation of her trade. In a city like Tyre where commerce is the only support of the state, all the principal citizens are traders; the merchants are the Princes of the republic: But in great empires, where military virtue and subordination of ranks are

absolutely necessary, commerce ought to be encouraged without being universal. To this end, it is necessary to establish companies, grant them privileges, and intrust them with the general commerce of the nation: They should make settlements in remote islands, and maintain a naval force for their defence against pyrates: Those who cannot employ themselves in trade shall lodge their money in these public companies: The magistrates, priests and military men cannot traffic without neglecting their proper employments and demeaning themselves; those trading companies shall be the depositaries of every private man's money, which thus united will produce an hundredfold. In a kingdom that is fruitful, spacious, populous and abounding with sea-ports, if the people are laborious they may draw from the bosom of the earth immense treasures, which wou'd be lost by the negligence and sloth of its inhabitants. By improving the productions of nature by manufactures the national riches are augmented; and it is by carrying these fruits of industry to other nations that a solid commerce is establish'd in a great empire: But nothing should be exported to other countries but its superfluities, nor any thing imported from them but what is purchased with those superfluities. By this means the state will never contract any debts abroad, the ballance of trade will be always on its side, and it will draw from other nations wherewith to defray the expences of war; great advantages will be reap'd from commerce without destroying the distinction of ranks, or weakening military virtue: One of the chief accomplishments of a Prince is to know the genius of his people, the productions of nature in his kingdom, and how to make the best advantage of them. Cyrus by his conversation with Ecnibal and Amenophis learnt many useful notions and maxims in government which he had not met with in other countries; they were

were of great service to him after the taking of Sardis, when he order'd gold money to be coin'd, and turn'd the King of Lydia's treasures into specie [a].

The next day Cyrus accompanied the King of Tyre some furlongs from his capital to assist at the annual rites instituted in commemoration of the death of Adonis. Between Heliopolis and Byblos there was a stately temple consecrated to Venus: On one side of the portal was placed a statue of the Goddess, she leant her declining head on her left hand, grief appear'd in her countenance, and tears seem'd to flow from her eyes, which were turn'd upon the statue of her lover placed on the other side; a stream of blood seem'd to spring from his heart, and to dye the river Thammuz whose purple waters roll'd with impetuosity towards the sea. The frizes and the architraves were adorned with sculptures in bas-relief, representing the three metamorphoses of the Goddess, the history of her unfaithfulness, and of all the effects of Adonis's constancy.

The temple was built of fine Parian marble; its immense vault represented that of heaven; in the middle of it appeared the chariot of the sun encircled by the planets, and at a greater distance the empyreum spangled with stars. Upon the altar stood a statue of the Goddess; she held in her hand the globe of the world, and upon her wonderful girdle were describ'd the twelve constellations. The artist had animated the marble in such a manner, that the statue express'd three different passions, according to the different points of view from whence it was beheld [b]; at a distance it was a noble and majestic beauty that seem'd to invite with a soft smile, accompany'd with a tender and modest look; upon a

[a] *See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronol. p.* 319.

[b] *The Venus of Medicis is said in like manner to have three different aspects, according to different points of view from which it is beheld.*

nearer view her face, turn'd towards the Eaſt, proclaim'd the peaceful joy of a ſoul that ſees the beauty of truth, poſſeſſes it and is poſſeſs'd by it; when view'd from the other ſide ſhe ſeem'd to turn away her eyes, and deſpiſe thoſe who durſt approach her with a profane heart and impure thoughts. In the ſculptures of the altar, Love [a] under the ſhape of Adonis ſeem'd to deſcend from heaven, his infant look ſpoke nothing but candor, innocence and ſimplicity; the virtues walk'd before him, the muſes follow'd him, and the graces hover'd about him; he had no bandage upon his eyes, and held in his hand a lighted torch to ſhew that he enlightens at the ſame time that he inflames.

When Cyrus enter'd the temple he found all the people, clad in mourning, in a cavern, where the image of a young man was lying upon a bed of flowers and odoriferous herbs; nine days were ſpent in faſting, prayer and lamentations, after which the public ſorrow was changed into gladneſs; ſongs of joy ſucceeded to weeping [b], and the whole aſſembly began this ſacred hymn. 'Adonis is return'd to life, 'Urania weeps no more, he is re-aſcended to hea-'ven, he will ſoon come down again upon earth to 'baniſh thence both crimes and miſeries for ever.

Cyrus was ſtruck with the auguſt ſolemnity of the Tyrian rites; he knew nothing of the hiſtory of Venus and Adonis but by the Mythology of the Greeks, and ſuſpected that they had debas'd it according to their cuſtom: He deſir'd Amenophis to explain to him the true meaning of the Phœnician ceremonies. The wiſe Egyptian ſat down with the young Prince

[a] *Since there are two Venus's, ſays Plato, there muſt be two Loves, and he calls this Love the great God,* Μέγας θεὸς ὁ Ἔρως καὶ θαυμαστὸς ἐν θεοῖς. *Conviv. p.* 178, 180.

[b] *All theſe Tyrian rites are to be found in Lucian, St. Jerome, St. Cyril, Julius Firmicus, Macrobius and Procopius. See Diſc. p.* 65.

over

over againſt the great gate of the temple, in a place from whence they could ſee the ſtatues of the God and Goddeſs, with all the bas-reliefs that repreſented their adventures, and then ſaid: It is not long ſince the Greeks were utter ſtrangers to letters, the muſes and the ſciences; their underſtanding is ſtill young, they have no true knowledge of antiquity, they have disfigured all the myſteries of the ancient religion by their abſurd fictions and groſs images: The combats of Mythras, the murder of Oſiris, the death of Adonis, the baniſhment of Apollo and the labours of Hercules, repreſent to us the ſame truths; but different nations have painted them under different ſimilitudes; what we learn of them from the Tyrian annals is as follows.

Before the formation of the elements, the heavens and the earth, an eternal ſilence reign'd throughout all the etherial regions, and the muſic of the ſtars had not yet begun; The great God [b] Belus dwelt in an inacceſſible light with the Goddeſs [c] Urania who inceſſantly ſprang from his head, and with the God [d] Adonis whom he had engendred like unto himſelf. Belus being more and more charm'd with the beauty of his ſon, deſir'd that there might be ſeveral miniatures and living images of him. Adonis animated by the power of Belus moulded ſome rays of light, and made ſuns, ſtars and numberleſs worlds inviſible to us; but as yet there were no inhabitants for them. He look'd upon his mother and on a ſudden he ſaw

[b] *Belus or Baali was anciently one of the names of the true God among the Hebrews. See Hoſea, chap. ii. ver. 16. and Selden de Diis Syris, cap. i. Syntag. 2.*

[c] *Urania, Minerva and Iſis are the ſame. See Seld. ibid. cap. 4.*

[d] Ἀδωνις δεσπότης *apud Phénices unde Laconibus* Κύρις, *id eſt* Κύριος *Seld. ib. c. 11. Adonis comes from the word Adonai, one of the ten names of God. Vid. D. Hier. Ep. ad Marcell. This Adonis is the ſame with the Logos of Plato, whom he defines* Ἔκγονον ὃ τἀγαθὸν ἐγέννησεν ἀνάλογον ἑαυτῷ. *See Diſc. p. 28.*

ſpring out from the vaſt abyſs a beautiful flower which contain'd the ſoul of the world; Adonis breath'd upon it; what cannot the almighty breath of a God? The flower ſwell'd, expanded itſelf and was chang'd into a young Goddeſs whom he nam'd [a] Urania after his mother. Tranſported with love and pleaſure, he would have preſented her to his father, but ſhe was not yet able to ſupport the ſplendor of the divine preſence, or to breathe the pure air of the empyreum.

Adonis placed the young Goddeſs in a ſtar, in the centre of the univerſe, from whence ſhe could ſee the courſe of all the heavenly bodies, and hear the muſic of the celeſtial ſpheres: He then ſaid to her, Beautiful Urania I love you, and deſign you for a more tranſcendent glory than what you at preſent enjoy; I intend to make you my ſpouſe, bleſs you with a happy race that ſhall people the heavens, and conduct you at laſt with all your children into the ſublime place above the ſtars where my father dwells: The only condition I require of you is, that you never wiſh to know more than what ſuits your preſent ſtate, that unreaſonable curioſity would render you both unhappy and criminal: Such are the immutable laws of Belus. Urania thought her ſelf too happy to enjoy her felicity on ſuch eaſy terms; ſhe loved Adonis more than all the glory that he promiſed her, the ſight of her lover made her forget all his gifts; he looked upon her with complacency, and by this look made her pregnant; ſhe became the mother of all the Divinities without ceaſing to be the immortal virgin; ſhe quickly peopled the ſtars with Gods and Goddeſſes, who had

[a] *Pauſanias tells us that there were two Urania's, the celeſtial Venus, and the Venus ἀποστροφία of the Greeks, or Verticordia of the Latins, which is as much as to ſay,* Venus convertens cor ſuum *as well as* aliorum. *See Diſc p. 66.*

no

no other law but that of obeying the will of Adonis, loving each other tenderly as the children of the same father, and aspiring by their virtue to become one day worthy of seeing the God Belus.

Urania continued long faithful; she followed Adonis every where, he led her through the immense spaces to shew her the numberless worlds which he had there produced; he often talked with her of the superior regions, and of the pleasure which she would one day feel in knowing him of whom all nature is but a faint image, in comparing the original with its pictures, and in seeing their various relations. These discourses kindled in her the fatal curiosity, she began to be weary of her happiness, and had no longer any relish for the pleasures she enjoyed: She durst not speak, but Adonis perceiv'd the first motions of her unfaithfulness, and endeavoured to stop its progress; she grew pensive, melancholy, distrustful, and broke out at last in these bitter complaints: Adonis, cruel Adonis! why did you give me the idea of a happiness which makes me miserable? You promised to carry me up to the empyreum, shew me the kingdom of your father, and make me partaker of his glory; you should have concealed your designs from me, or have accomplish'd them sooner. Imprudent Urania, reply'd Adonis, you are going to ruin yourself in spite of me, you are not yet capable of beholding the God Belus, you would not be able to support the splendor of his presence, he will be loved as he deserves before he manifests himself as he is; the smallest desire, the least motion contrary to his order is an incroachment on his rights.

A vain curiosity and an ambitious desire of knowing overcame the Goddess, she no longer beheld Adonis with the same complacency, she no longer found the same charms in his company, she receiv'd his caresses with coldness and indifference; he re-

new'd all his endeavours to cure her diſtemper'd mind, but to no purpoſe; ſhe forced him at length to leave her: The Gods are delicate in love, and cannot ſuffer a divided heart; he re-aſcended to his father and left her all alone, hoping that the pains of abſence would recover her from her error. As ſoon as he was gone ſhe renew'd her complaints, and tormented herſelf with new reflections; ſhe began to doubt, and by that doubting ſhe became darkned; ſhe ſuſpected all that Adonis had ſaid to her of his father and of the ſuperior regions to be only a chimera; ſhe forgot her origin and her dependent ſtate: To convince her of her error, ſhe was thrown down from the etherial regions into the ſphere of the ſun; ſhe drew after her the inhabitants of ſeven other ſtars; theſe luminous bodies loſt their light, became planets, and roll'd about the ſun to receive its influences: The Gods who inhabited them became Demi-Gods, and the Goddeſs Urania was condemn'd to live in the moon; ſhe now enjoy'd only a borrow'd light, was clothed with an aerial and tranſparent body which the Greeks call the ſubtile vehicle of the ſoul; ſhe no longer breath'd as formerly the pure Æther, which made her life and nouriſhment; ſhe lived upon nectar and ambroſia with the Demi-Gods, whom ſhe had drawn after her in her fall. Adonis ever faithful and ever loving deſcended into the ſun to be nearer to his belov'd Urania; he took the name of Apollo and try'd new means to make her ſenſible of her fault: Sometimes ſhe was ſoften'd, ſhe yielded to the ſun's attraction, and brought her ſilver carr near his rays; then on a ſudden ſhe changed her ſentiments and wander'd from him, ſhe became inconſtant and fantaſtical, ſhe put on new forms according as ſhe retir'd from her lover or approached to him; ſhe at length gave way to her ambition, and made the inhabitants

habitants of the planets adore her under the name of [a] Aſtarté, or the Queen of heaven.

By the laws of immutable fate it was neceſſary that the Goddeſs ſhould undergo a new metamorphoſis as a puniſhment for her new crime: She fell from the moon to the earth, and took the name of Venus. The inhabitants of the planets did not all follow her example, ſhe ſeduced but a ſmall number of them, and theſe Demi-Gods became men, but men of the golden age, they were not yet guilty of groſs crimes, they ſtill preſerved ſome marks of their original nature. The Goddeſs by changing her element changed her food, inſtead of ambroſia ſhe fed only upon fruits, inſtead of drinking nectar ſhe quench'd her thirſt in limpid ſtreams and clear fountains; ſhe had not as yet loſt either her tranſparency or her agility, ſhe could mount into the air when ſhe pleaſed, but ſhe could not riſe to the ſuperior regions. Adonis left the ſun, took the form of a young man, and came and dwelt with Venus upon earth: At firſt ſhe did not diſcover who he was and fell in love with him; but having felt his divine influences ſhe knew him, was afraid and fled from him: He purſued her, he called after her, and at laſt ſtopt her; but ſhe eſcaped him again: He could have employed his almighty power, but the Gods will be lov'd by choice; he endeavoured to touch her heart by complaints and tears, by careſſes and threats, but ſhe had no longer any taſte for the refin'd delights of virtue; her firſt pride was now changed into a profane love of pleaſure, and ſhe forced Adonis to quit her a third time.

The inhabitants of the ſtars ſaw theſe repeated inſtances of Urania's ingratitude, and began to be ſhaken in their obedience: Belus, ſaid they, has no

[a] *Quid Urania niſi cœli Regina, Luna, Aſtarté. Vid. Selden. de Diis Syris, cap. 2. ſyntag. 2. See Apul. Met.* 11.

ſuch averſion to vice as we imagin'd, ſince he does not puniſh it; ſince rebellion is not followed by miſery why are we ſubject to laws? 'Tis true Urania is no longer what ſhe was, but ſhe is ſtill a Goddeſs and ſtill happy; provided we enjoy pleaſure 'tis no matter upon what terms; independence and liberty heighten the reliſh of the moſt vulgar enjoyments. An univerſal revolt was breeding through all the celeſtial regions, the deſigns of Belus were going to be fruſtrated: He call'd up Adonis into that ſolitude above the heavens where he liv'd with him before the formation of the ſtars, and ſaid to him: I repent me to have drawn the imprudent Urania from her original flower, you ſee her ingratitude and her obſtinacy notwithſtanding all your endeavours to reclaim her; univerſal harmony is diſturb'd, the celeſtial monarchy is ſhaken, and the heavenly ſpirits begin to deſpiſe my ſovereign laws: Should I pardon the inhabitants of the earth, my clemency would encourage a new revolt, and the ſight of their impunity would have a bad influence on all the inhabitants of the ſtars, who already begin to murmur and to ſuſpect my goodneſs of indifferency with regard to crimes: I cannot vindicate the honour of my laws, nor confirm the immortals in their duty, without annihilating the unfaithful Goddeſs and all her rebellious children. Theſe terrible words rent the vault of heaven, reſounded even to the abyſs, and frighted the kingdom of chaos and eternal night. Belus at length lifted up his ſcepter to replunge the earth and all its inhabitants into their original nothing: Adonis threw himſelf at his father's feet, he with-held his avenging arm by theſe words: I love Urania notwithſtanding her unfaithfulneſs, I ſee her errors and follies with grief, but her children are yours ſince they are mine; puniſh them, but do not entirely deſtroy them; ſhould they enjoy a happy immorta-

lity,

lity upon earth, they would think no more of re-aſcending to heaven; curſe their habitation, blaſt its beauty, expoſe the guilty race to ſickneſs and death, but let your puniſhments be remedies; all the celeſtial and terreſtrial Deities who know the crimes of Urania will ſee alſo her miſery, and be confirmed in their duty by her puniſhment. He ſpoke, and ſuddenly the pillars of the earth were ſhaken, the poles of the heaven changed their ſituation, the ſun grew pale and retired to a greater diſtance, the moon and the five planets alter'd their motions, thunder, winds and rain mingled and confounded the elements, the herbs and flowers faded, the trees dry'd up and wither'd, the earth refus'd its uſual bounty, the fruitfulneſs of nature degenerated into a horrible barrenneſs.

Venus ſtruck with terror fell into a long ſwoon, and when ſhe recover'd out of it beheld nothing but deſolation all around her; ſhe found herſelf in a frightful deſert, upon the banks of the river Thammuz, whoſe plaintive murmurs ſeemed to proclaim Urania's crime: Her misfortunes did not change her heart, ſhe ſought to compenſate her real miſeries by creating herſelf imaginary pleaſures; ſhe cauſed temples to be erected every where to her honour, ſhe invented impure ſacrifices and a prophane worſhip; her altars were quickly beſmear'd with the blood of harmleſs animals; inſtead of odoriferous herbs and exquiſite fruits, ſhe fed upon the fleſh of the victims, ſhe ſought for all ſorts of meats which might excite and nouriſh her ſenſuality, ſhe gave herſelf up to the blind inſtinct of pleaſure, her blood grew thick, and flow'd no longer in her veins with the ſame freedom and amenity; the ſubtile vehicle of the ſoul was wrapt round with a terreſtrial and groſs body; Venus could no longer fly in the air, ſhe loſt her lightneſs and tranſparency and became mortal; her children underwent the

ſame fate, ſhe ſaw many of them expire before her eyes by intemperance and voluptuouſneſs; others hoping to ſhun the decrees of fate heaped mountains upon mountains, and endeavour'd to ſcale heaven, but being ſtruck down and cruſh'd by thunderbolts, they dug themſelves an abyſs in the boſom of chaos, where Pluto, their chief, erected his empire, and Venus was there ador'd under the name of Proſerpine.

The Goddeſs became frantic, ſhe ran about the mountains and valleys, bewailed her children and worſhipers, and blaſphem'd againſt Belus. Adonis heard her, he left the celeſtial regions and came down upon earth; ſhe perceiv'd him at a diſtance, and would have thrown herſelf into the water to hide herſelf from his preſence, but he ſtopped her and ſat down by her; ſhe held down her head with ſhame and confuſion and was afraid to look upon him; finding at laſt that he made her no reproach ſhe rais'd her eyes from the ground, but durſt not yet fix them upon his face; ſhe recover'd heart by degrees, ſhe obſerv'd him nearly, ſhe beheld him pale, meagre and disfigured; he had no longer any remains of his former beauty, he was cover'd with wounds and bruiſes; he continu'd a long time ſilent, and ſhe durſt not ſpeak; at laſt he ſaid to her, Ah Venus, inconſtant Venus! you bewail your own miſeries, but you are inſenſible to mine; to what a condition have you reduc'd me? JUDGE OF YOUR GUILT BY MY SUFFERINGS; the God Belus was going to deſtroy you and all your race if I had not ſoften'd him: I came down myſelf upon earth to make reparation for your offences againſt the immutable laws of the empyreum, and to make war with all the monſters which your crimes have brought forth. [b] I have kill'd the ſerpent Python,

[b] *Mythras, Oſiris, Adonis, Apollo and Hercules are the different names of the middle God. See Diſc. p. 8.*

the

the Nemean lyon, the hydra of Lerna which ſprang from your head when you became falſe, the Centaurs that devour'd men, the Cyclops who forged the thunderbolts, the wild boar of Erymanthus that wounded me with his murderous tusk, the Stymphalian birds that ſpoil'd the fruits of the earth, and the dragon which had ſeiz'd the garden of Heſperia; I have driven them all down into hell, and am going to purſue them thither that I may complete my conqueſt: Adonis as he utter'd theſe words fell into a mortal agony, a ſtream of blood guſh'd forth from his heart and dyed the waters of the river Thammuz. All the children of Venus aſſembled about him, he open'd his eyes from time to time, and repeated theſe words with a ſigh, JUDGE OF YOUR GUILT BY MY SUFFERINGS; he continued thus many hours, and at laſt expir'd through an exceſs of pain. His ſoul deſcended into hell to deliver Theſeus, Pirithoüs, all the heroes vanquiſh'd by Pluto, and all the manes that ſuffer'd in thoſe gloomy habitations.

Venus bewail'd her lover for nine days and nine nights: She continu'd diſconſolate near the dead body, and could not tear herſelf away from it. Being at length exhauſted with grief ſhe fell into a profound ſleep, nor did ſhe awake till her ears were ſtruck by a heavenly voice; ſhe look'd up and beheld Adonis in the air ſurrounded by all the heroes, and all the ſhades which he had brought back from the dark abode. He had reſum'd his firſt form and his priſtine beauty; he darted upon her a heavenly ray to reſtore her ſtrength and calm her ſpirit, and then ſaid to her: I have follow'd you, my dear Urania, I have followed you in all your wanderings; I deſcended into the moon, upon earth, and even into hell to deliver you and your diſloyal children; I have ſuffer'd all that a God can ſuffer in ſeeing your falſhood and inconſtancy; but you are now no longer inſenſible to my love, and I don't repent of my ſufferings; I leave you, but my wiſdom

wiſdom ſhall never forſake you if you continue faithful to me; farewel, dear Urania, you can ſee me no more till you be transform'd into my image, the Gods are only enamour'd with their own beauty: You muſt ſuffer a thouſand miſeries before this happy metamorphoſis, nor can you re aſcend to heaven but by the ſame way by which you fell from it; you muſt firſt be ſtripp'd of your terreſtrial body by ſufferings, diſeaſes and death; you ſhall then riſe to the regions of the moon where you will undergo a [c] ſecond death by the deſtruction of your aerial body; your pure ſpirit, free and diſengag'd from every thing that could ſtop it, will fly away to the ſtars, where you will reſume your former beauty, but you muſt at length loſe even that before you are tranſform'd into my image. When you have undergone theſe three metamorphoſes, expiated your guilt by the purifying pains of each new tranſformation, practis'd upon earth, in the moon and in the ſtars, all the human, heroic and divine virtues, you ſhall aſcend with me into the ſublime place above the heavens, where you ſhall ſee the God Belus, and the Goddeſs my mother; virtue, truth and juſtice, not as they are here below, but as they exiſt in him who is Being itſelf. Fear nothing, I will be preſent with you in all theſe ſtates, I will help you to ſupport your ſufferings if you never ceaſe to invoke me: Thoſe of your children who ſhall imitate your example ſhall re-aſcend with you to the fields of Hecate, the reſt ſhall deſcend to the gloomy kingdom of Pluto, and be there tormented till they are purify'd from their crimes. I have chain'd up the fierce Cerberus, henceforward he ſhall be only the vile inſtrument of my juſtice. [d] I have eſtabliſh'd judges in hell, who will inflict puniſhments only to exterminate vice; they will not annihilate the eſſence of the ſoul, but reſtore it

[c] *See Diſc. p. 19.* [d] *See Diſc. p. 53.*

to

to a true existence by purging it of all irregular passions. When your children have been [e] plung'd nine times in the purifying waves of the burning Acheron, the chilling Styx, the black Cocytus and the foaming Phlegeton, they shall at length drink the waters of the river Lethé, which will make them forget all their past miseries and crimes. When there shall be no longer any mortal or immortal, in hell, upon earth, or in the planets that is not purify'd and prepar'd to behold my father, I will then return to banish all evils out of the universe, abolish hell, and re-establish harmony throughout all the immensity of space; in the mean time assemble those of your children who are willing to follow you, institute festivals to my honour, and let them be annually celebrated with pomp to perpetuate the memory of your unfaithfulness and of my love.

Cyrus was overjoy'd to see that all nations were agreed in the doctrine of the three states of the world, the three forms of the Divinity, and a middle God, who by his conflicts and great sufferings was to expiate and exterminate moral evil and restore innocence and peace to the universe.

While he was yet at Tyre couriers came from Persia to inform him that Mandana was dying: This news oblig'd him to suspend his journey to Babylon and to leave Phœnicia in haste. At parting he embraced the King of Tyre: O Ecnibal; said he, I envy neither your riches nor your magnificence; to

[e] *Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum*
Supplicia expendunt: Aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos; aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exurgitur igni.
Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
Ætherium sensum, & auraï simplicis ignem.
Has omnes ubi mille rotam volvêre per annos
Lethæum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant.
Æn. l. 6. ver. 740.

be

be perfectly happy, I desire only such a friend as Amenophis. Cyrus and Araspes crossd Arabia Deserta and a part of Chaldea; they pass'd the Tygris near the place where it joins the Euphrates, and entring Susiana, arriv'd in a few days at the capital of Persia. Cyrus hastened to see his mother; he found her dying, and gave himself up to grief, which he expressed by the most bitter complaints. The Queen being tenderly affected with the sight of her son, endeavoured to moderate his affliction by these words; Comfort yourself, my son; souls never die; they are only condemn'd for a time to animate mortal bodies that they may expiate the faults they have committed in a former state: The time of my expiation is at an end; I am going to re-ascend to the sphere of fire; there I shall see Perseus, Arbaces, Dejoces, Phraortes, and all the heroes from whom you are descended; I will tell them that you resolve to imitate them: There I shall see Cassandana, she loves you still, death changes not the sentiments of virtuous souls: We shall be always with you though invisible, we will descend in a cloud and be your protecting genii; we will accompany you in the midst of dangers; we will engage the virtues to attend you; we will preserve you from all the errors and vices which corrupt the hearts of Princes: One day your dominion will be extended and the oracles accomplish'd; O my son, my dear son, remember that you ought to have no other view in conquering nations than to establish among them the empire of virtue and reason. As she uttered these last words, she turned pale, a cold sweat spread itself over all her limbs, death closed her eyes, and her soul flew away to the empyreum: She was long lamented by all Persia, and Cambyses erected a stately monument to her memory. Cyrus's grief wore off only by degrees and as necessity oblig'd him to apply himself to affairs of state.

Cambyses

Cambyſes was a religious and pacific Prince; he had never been out of Perſia, the manners of which were innocent and pure, but auſtere and rugged: He knew how to chuſe miniſters capable of ſupplying what was defective in his own talents; but he ſometimes yielded himſelf up too blindly to their conduct from a diffidence of his own underſtanding: He prudently reſolved that Cyrus ſhould himſelf enter into the adminiſtration of affairs; and having ſent for him one day, ſaid to him: Your travels, my ſon, have improv'd your knowledge, and you ought to employ it for the good of your country: You are deſtin'd not only to govern this kingdom, but alſo, one day, to give law to all Aſia; you ſhould learn betimes the art of reigning, a ſtudy to which Princes ſeldom apply themſelves; they aſcend the throne before they know the duties of a King: I intruſt you with my authority, and will have you exerciſe it under my inſpection; the talents of Soranes will not be uſeleſs to you, he is the ſon of an able miniſter, who ſerv'd me many years with fidelity; he is young, but indefatigable, knowing and qualify'd for all ſorts of employments.

Under the government of Cambyſes this miniſter had found it neceſſary to appear virtuous, nay, he thought himſelf really ſo, but his virtue had never been put to the trial: Soranes did not himſelf know the exceſs to which his boundleſs ambition could carry him. When Cyrus apply'd himſelf to learn the ſtate and condition of Perſia, her military ſtrength, and her intereſts both foreign and domeſtic, Soranes quickly ſaw with concern that he was going to loſe much of his authority under a Prince who had all the talents neceſſary for governing by himſelf; he endeavoured to captivate the mind of Cyrus, and ſtudied him a long time to diſcover his weakneſſes. The young Prince was not inſenſible to praiſe, but he lov'd to deſerve it; he had a taſte for pleaſure,

but

but he was not a ſlave to it; he did not diſlike magnificence, but he could refuſe himſelf every thing rather than oppreſs his people: Thus he was inacceſſible to flattery, and proof againſt voluptuouſneſs and pomp. Soranes perceiv'd that there was no means to preſerve his credit with Cyrus, but by making himſelf neceſſary to him by his capacity: He diſplay'd all his talents both in public and private councils; he ſhew'd that he poſſeſs'd the ſecrets of the wiſeſt policy, and at the ſame time could enter into that ſort of *detail* in buſineſs, the knowledge of which is one of the chief qualifications of a miniſter; he prepar'd and digeſted matters with ſo much order and clearneſs that he left his maſter little to do. Any other Prince would have been charm'd to ſee himſelf excus'd from all application to buſineſs: But Cyrus reſolv'd to ſee every thing with his own eyes; he had a confidence in his father's miniſters, but he would not blindly yield himſelf up to their counſels. When Soranes perceiv'd that the Prince would himſelf ſee every thing to the bottom, he ſtudy'd to throw obſcurity over the moſt important affairs, that he might make himſelf yet more neceſſary. Cyrus obſerv'd the crafty conduct of this able and jealous miniſter, and manag'd him with ſo much delicacy that he drew from him by degrees what he endeavour'd ſo artfully to conceal. When the Prince thought himſelf ſufficiently inſtructed, he let Soranes ſee that he would himſelf be his father's firſt miniſter; and in this manner moderated the authority of that favourite without giving him any juſt cauſe of complaint. The ambitious Soranes was nevertheleſs offended at the Prince's conduct, and could not, without mortal uneaſineſs, ſee the fall of his credit and that he was no longer neceſſary; this was the firſt ſource of his diſcontent, which might have prov'd fatal to Cyrus if his virtue and prudence had not preſerv'd him from its effects.

Perſia

Perſia had for ſome ages been in ſubjection to Media, but upon the marriage of Cambyſes with Mandana, it had been ſtipulated that the King of Perſia ſhould for the future pay only a ſmall annual tribute as a mark of homage. From that time the Medes and Perſians had liv'd in perfect amity till the jealouſy of Cyaxares kindled the fire of diſcord. The Median Prince was inceſſantly calling to mind with vexation the oracles which were ſpread abroad concerning the future conqueſts of young Cyrus; he conſider'd him as the deſtroyer of his power, and imagin'd already that he ſaw him entring Ecbatan to dethrone him; he was every moment ſolliciting Aſtyages to prevent thoſe fatal predictions, weaken the ſtrength of Perſia, and reduce it to its former dependence. Mandana, while ſhe liv'd, had ſo dextrouſly manag'd her father as to hinder an open rupture between him and Cambyſes: But as ſoon as ſhe was dead, Cyaxares renewed his ſollicitations with the Median Emperor.

Cambyſes was inform'd of Cyaxares's deſigns and ſent Hyſtaſpes to the court of Ecbatan, to repreſent to Aſtyages the danger of mutually weakening each other's power, while the Aſſyrians, their common enemy, were forming ſchemes to extend their domination over all the Eaſt. Hyſtaſpes, by his addreſs, put a ſtop to the execution of Cyaxares's projects, and gain'd Cambyſes time to make his preparations in caſe of a rupture. The Prince of Media ſeeing that the wiſe counſels of Hyſtaſpes were favourably liſten'd to by his father, and that there was no means ſuddenly to kindle a war, attempted by other ways to weaken the power of Perſia: Being inform'd of Soranes's diſcontent, he endeavour'd to gain him by an offer of the firſt dignities in the empire. Soranes at firſt was ſhock'd at the very thought; but being afterwards deceiv'd by his reſentment, he knew not himſelf the ſecret motives upon

upon which he acted; his heart was not yet become insensible to virtue, but his lively imagination transform'd objects, and represented them to him in the colours necessary to flatter his ambition; at length he got the better of all remorse by reasoning with himself, that Cyaxares would one day be his lawful Emperor, and that Cambyses was but a tributary master. There is nothing which we cannot persuade ourselves to think when blinded and drawn away by strong passions. Thus he entred by degrees into a close correspondence with Cyaxares, and secretly employ'd all means to render Cyrus's administration odious to the Persians.

Cyrus had rais'd Araspes to the first dignities in the army, upon account of his capacity and talent for war; but he would not bring him into the senate, because it was a law in Persia that no stranger should sit in the supreme council. The perfidious Soranes nevertheless press'd the young Prince to infringe this law, knowing that it would be a sure means to excite the jealousy of the Satraps and to stir them up against Cyrus. You have need, said he to him, of a man like Araspes in your council: I know that good policy and our rules forbid the intrusting of strangers with the command of an army and the secrets of state at the same time; but a Prince may dispense with the laws when he can fulfil the intention of them by more sure and easy ways, and he ought never to be the slave of rules and customs: Men ordinarily act either from ambition or interest; load Araspes with dignities and riches; by that means you will make Persia his country, and will have no reason to doubt his fidelity. Cyrus was not aware of Soranes's secret design, but he lov'd justice too well to depart from it. I am persuaded, answer'd the Prince, of the fidelity and capacity of Araspes; I love him sincerely, but though my friendship were capable of making

ing me break the laws in his favour, he is too much attach'd to me ever to accept a dignity, which might excite the jealousy of the Persians, and give them cause to think that I was influenced by particular inclination and friendship in affairs of state.

Soranes having in vain attempted to engage Cyrus to take this false step, endeavour'd to surprise him another way, and to create a misunderstanding between him and his father: He artfully made him observe the King's imperfections, his want of capacity and genius, and the necessity of pursuing other maxims than his. The mild and peaceable government of Cambyses, said he to the Prince, is incompatible with noble views; if you content yourself like him with a pacific reign, how will you become a conqueror? Cyrus made no other use of these insinuations than to avoid the rocks upon which Cambyses had split; he did not lessen his deference and submission to his father whom he tenderly lov'd; he respected him even in his failings which he endeavour'd to conceal; he did nothing without his orders, but consulted him in such a manner, as at the same time to give him a just notion of things; he frequently discours'd with him in private, that the King might be able to decide in public. Cambyses had judgment enough to distinguish and make himself master of the excellent advices of his son, who employ'd the superiority of his genius only to make his father's commands respected, and never display'd his talents but to strengthen the King's authority: So admirable a behaviour greatly increased Cambyses's affection and esteem for him, and his confidence in him; the Prince never abus'd it, but continued the same conduct, in which he thought he did nothing more than his duty.

Soranes, enraged to see all his schemes frustrated, endeavour'd secretly to raise a distrust in the minds of the Satraps, as if the Prince would incroach upon

their rights and ruin their authority; and in order to augment their jealousy, he endeavour'd to inspire Cyrus with despotic principles. You are destin'd by the Gods, said he, to stretch your empire one day over all the East; in order to a happy execution of this design you should accustom the Persians to a blind obedience; captivate the Satraps by dignities and pleasures; put them under a necessity of frequenting your court if they would partake of your favours; get the sovereign authority by degrees into your own hands; abridge the rights of the senate, leave it only the privilege of giving you counsel: A Prince should not abuse his power, but he ought never to share it with his subjects; monarchy is the most perfect kind of government; the true strength of a state, secrecy in councils, and expedition in enterprizes, depend upon the sovereign power's being lodged in a single person: A petty republic may subsist under the government of many heads, but great empires can be form'd only by the absolute authority of one; other principles are the chimerical ideas of weak minds, who are conscious of their want of capacity to execute great designs.

The Prince was shock'd at this discourse, but conceal'd his indignation out of prudence, and dextrously breaking off the conversation, lest Soranes in a persuasion that he relish'd his maxims. As soon as Cyrus was alone, he made deep reflections on all that had pass'd; he call'd to mind the conduct of Amasis, and began to suspect Soranes's fidelity; he had not indeed any certain proofs of his perfidiousness; but a man who had the boldness to suggest to him such counsels seem'd very dangerous at least, tho' he should not be a traitor. The young Prince by degrees excluded this minister from the secret of affairs, and sought for pretences to remove him from about his person, yet without doing any thing to affront him openly. Soranes quickly perceiv'd this change,

change, and carry'd his reſentment to the laſt extremities; he perſuaded himſelf that Araſpes was going to be put in his place, that Cyrus intended to make himſelf abſolute maſter in Perſia, and that this was the Prince's ſecret view in diſciplining his troops with ſo much exactneſs. The jealouſy and ambition of Soranes blinded him to ſuch a degree, that he imagin'd he did his duty in practiſing the blackeſt treaſons. He inform'd Cyaxares of all that paſs'd in Perſia; the augmentation of her forces, the preparations which were making for war, and Cyrus's deſign of extending his empire over all the Eaſt, under pretext of accompliſhing certain pretended oracles, by which he impos'd upon the people. Cyaxares made advantage of theſe advices to alarm Aſtyages, and to inſinuate uneaſineſs and diſtruſt into his mind; Hyſtaſpes was order'd away from the court of Ecbatan, and the Emperor threaten'd Cambyſes with a bloody war, if he did not conſent to pay the ancient tribute, and return to the ſame dependence from which Perſia had been ſet free, upon his marriage with Mandana: Cambyſes's refuſal was the ſignal of the war, and preparations were made on both ſides [e].

In the mean while Soranes endeavour'd to corrupt the chief officers of the army and weaken their courage, by inſinuating that Aſtyages was their lawful Emperor, that the ambitious deſigns of Cyrus would ruin their country, and that they could never make head againſt the Median troops, who would overwhelm them with numbers. He continu'd likewiſe to increaſe the diſtruſt of the ſenators, by artfully ſpreading a rumour among them, that Cyrus undertook this war againſt his grandfather, only to weaken their authority, and to uſurp an abſolute power.

[e] *Xenophon has ſuppreſs'd this war, but Herodotus and other hiſtorians mention it. See M. Freret's letter.*

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He conceal'd all his plots with ſuch art, that it was almoſt impoſſible to diſcover them; every thing he ſaid was with ſo much caution, that there was no ſeeing into his ſecret intentions; nay there were certain moments in which he did not ſee them himſelf, but thought he was ſincere and zealous for the public good: His firſt remorſes returned from time to time, but he ſtifled them by perſuading himſelf that the ill deſigns he imputed to the Prince were real. Cyrus was quickly inform'd of the murmurs of the people; the army was ready to revolt, it was doubtful whether the ſenate would give the neceſſary ſubſidies, and the Emperor of the Medes was upon the point of entring Perſia at the head of ſixty thouſand men: The Prince was in the greateſt grief to ſee the cruel extremities to which his father was reduced, and the neceſſity of taking arms againſt his grandfather.

Cambyſes obſerving the Prince's ſtruggles between nature and duty ſaid to him, You know, my ſon, all that I have done to ſtifle the firſt ſeeds of our differences; I have labour'd to no purpoſe; the war is enevitable; our country ought to be preferr'd to our family; hitherto you have aſſiſted me in buſineſs by your prudence, you muſt now give proofs of your courage: Would my age allow we to appear at the head of our troops, yet my preſence would be neceſſary here to keep the people in awe; go, my ſon, go and fight for your country; ſhew yourſelf the defender of its liberty, as well as the preſerver of its laws; ſecond the deſigns of heaven, render yourſelf worthy to accompliſh its oracles; begin by delivering Perſia before you think of extending your conqueſts; let the nations ſee the effects of your courage, and admire your moderation in the midſt of your triumphs, that they may not hereafter fear your victories. Cyrus encouraged by the magnanimous ſentiments of Cambyſes, and aided by the

counſels

counſels of Harpagus and Hyſtaſpes, two generals of equal experience, form'd an army of thirty thouſand men, compos'd of commanders, with whoſe fidelity he was well acquainted, and veteran troops of known bravery. As ſoon as all preparations were made, they began by ſacrifices and other religious rites. Cyrus after this drew up his troops in a ſpacious plain near the capital, aſſembled the ſenate and the Satraps, and with a ſweet and majeſtic air thus harangued the officers of his army.

War is unlawful when it is not neceſſary; that which we at preſent undertake, is not to ſatisfy ambition or the deſire of domination, but to defend our liberties: 'Tis true your enemies underſtand military diſcipline, and they ſurpaſs us in number; but they are ſoften'd by luxury and a long peace; your ſouls are full of that noble ardor which makes men deſpiſe death when they are to fight for liberty; your ſevere life has accuſtom'd you to fatigue; nothing is impoſſible to thoſe whom no ſufferings nor difficult enterprizes can diſhearten: As for me, I will diſtinguiſh myſelf from you in nothing but in leading the way thro' labours and dangers; all our proſperities and all our misfortunes ſhall hereafter be common. He then turn'd to the ſenators, and with a fierce and ſevere countenance ſaid, Cambyſes is not ignorant of the intrigues at the court of Ecbatan, to ſow jealouſy and diſtruſt in your minds; he knows that you heſitate about giving him ſubſidies, but having foreſeen the war he has taken his precautions, one battle will decide the fate of Perſia, he does not want your aſſiſtance: However, remember that the liberty of your country is at preſent in queſtion; is not this liberty more ſecure in the hands of my father your lawful Prince, than in thoſe of the Emperor of the Medes, who holds all the neighbouring Kings in a tributary dependence? If Cambyſes ſhould be vanquiſh'd, your privileges are loſt for ever; if he prove

victorious they will be preſerved to you, unleſs you force the juſtice of a Prince, whom you have incens'd by your ſecret cabals, to deprive you of them. The Prince by this diſcourſe intimidated ſome, confirm'd others in their duty, and united all in one deſign of contributing to the preſervation of their country. Soranes appear'd more zealous than any, and earneſtly requeſted to have ſome command in the army: But as Cyrus had not conceal'd from Cambyſes his juſt ſuſpicions of that miniſter, the King did not ſuffer himſelf to be impos'd upon by appearances; under pretext of providing for the ſecurity of the capital, he kept him near his perſon, but gave orders to watch his conduct; ſo that Soranes was a priſoner without perceiving it.

Cyrus having learnt that Aſtyages had march'd his troops through the deſarts of Iſatis in order to enter Perſia, prevented him by a moſt ſurpriſing diligence: He croſs'd over craggy mountains, the paſſes of which he ſecur'd, and gain'd the plains of Paſagarda by ſuch routs as would have been impracticable to any other than an army accuſtom'd to fatigue, and conducted by ſo active and vigilant a general. Cyrus ſeiz'd the moſt advantageous poſts, and encamp'd near a ridge of mountains which defended him on one ſide, fortifying himſelf on the other by a double entrenchment. Aſtyages quickly appear'd, and encamp'd in the ſame plain near a lake, and the two armies continu'd in ſight of each other for ſeveral days. Cyrus could not without great concern look forward to the conſequences of a war againſt his grandfather, and therefore employ'd this time in ſending to Aſtyages's camp a Satrap, named Artabaſus, who ſpoke to the Emperor in the following manner: Cyrus, your grandſon, has an abhorrence of the war which he has been forc'd to undertake againſt you: He has neglected nothing to prevent it, nor will refuſe any means to put an end to it; he is

not

not deaf to the voice of nature, but he cannot sacrifice the liberty of the Persians; he would willingly reconcile by an honourable treaty the love of his country with filial affection; he is in a condition to make war, but at the same time is not asham'd to ask peace. The Emperor still irritated by Cyaxares, persisted in his first resolution, and Artabasus return'd without succeeding in his negotiation.

Cyrus seeing himself reduced to the necessity of hazarding a battle, and knowing of what importance it is in affairs of war, to deliberate with many, to decide with few, and to execute with speed, assembled his principal officers and heard all their opinions; he then took his resolution, which he communicated only to Hystaspes and Harpagus. The day following he caus'd a rumour to be spread in the army of the enemy, that he intended to retire, not daring to engage with unequal forces. Before he left the camp he order'd the usual sacrifices to be offer'd; he made libations of wine, and all the chief officers did the same: He gave for the word, MYMHRAS THE CONDUCTOR AND SAVIOUR, and then mounting his horse commanded every man to his post. The soldiers cuirasses were compos'd of plates of iron of divers colours, and like the scales of fish; their casques were of brass, adorn'd with a great white feather; over their shields made of willow twigs interwoven, hung their quivers; their darts were short, their bows long, their arrows made of canes, and their scymitars hung upon their right thighs. The royal standard was a golden eagle with its wings expanded; the Kings of Persia have ever since had the same.

Cyrus decamp'd by night, and advanced in the plains of Pasagarda; Astyages imagining that the Prince fled before him, made haste to come up with him by sun-rising; Cyrus on a sudden drew up his army in order of battle, and only twelve deep, that

the javelins and darts of the laſt rank might reach the enemy, and that all the parts might ſupport and aſſiſt each other without confuſion: He choſe out of each battalion a ſelect company, of which he form'd a triangular Phalanx, after the manner of the Greeks; he placed this body of reſerve behind his army, commanding it not to ſtir till he himſelf ſhould give expreſs orders. The plain was cover'd with duſt and ſand, and the North-wind blew hard. Cyrus by wheeling a little poſted his army ſo advantageouſly, that the riſing duſt was driven full in the faces of the Medes, and favour'd his ſtratagem; Harpagus commanded the right wing, Hyſtaſpes the left, Araſpes the centre, and Cyrus was preſent every where. The army of the Medes was compos'd of ſeveral ſquare battalions thirty deep, all ſtanding cloſe to be the more impenetrable; in the front were the chariots, with great ſcythes faſten'd to the axle-trees.

Cyrus order'd Harpagus and Hyſtaſpes to extend the two wings by degrees, in order to incloſe the Medes. While he was ſpeaking he heard a clap of thunder: We follow thee great Oromazes, cry'd he, and in the ſame inſtant began the hymn of battle, to which all the troops anſwer'd with loud ſhouts, invoking the God Mythras. Cyrus's army preſented its front in a ſtrait line to deceive Aſtyages; but the center marching ſlower and the wings faſter, the whole was ſoon form'd into a creſcent. The Medes broke through the firſt ranks of the centre, and advanced to the laſt; they began already to cry, Victory! but then Cyrus advanc'd with his body of reſerve, while Harpagus and Hyſtaſpes ſurrounded the enemy on all ſides, and the battel was renew'd. The triangular Phalanx of the Perſians pierced the battalions of the Medes, and turn'd aſide their chariots: Cyrus mounted on a foaming ſteed, flew from rank to rank; the fire of his eyes animated the ſoldiers,

and

and the ſerenity of his countenance baniſh'd all fear: In the heat of battel he was active, calm and preſent to himſelf; he ſpoke to ſome, encouraged others by ſigns, and kept every one in his poſt. The Medes being ſurrounded on all ſides were attack'd in front, in rear and in flank; the Perſians cloſe in upon them and cut them in pieces; nothing was heard but the claſhing of arms and the groans of the dying; ſtreams of blood cover'd the plain; deſpair, rage and cruelty ſpread ſlaughter and death every where: Cyrus alone felt a generous pity; Aſtyages and Cyaxares being taken priſoners, he gave orders to ſound a retreat and put an end to the battel.

Cyaxares, inflam'd with rage and with all the paſſions that take hold of a proud mind when fallen from its hopes, would not ſee Cyrus: He pretended to be wounded, and ſent to ask permiſſion to return to Ecbatan, to which Cyrus conſented. Aſtyages was conducted with pomp to the capital of Perſia, not like a conquer'd Prince, but like a victorious one: Being no longer importun'd by the evil counſels of his ſon, he made a peace, and Perſia was declar'd a free kingdom for ever; this was the firſt ſervice that Cyrus did his country. The ſucceſs of this war, ſo contrary to the expectation of Soranes, open'd his eyes. Had the event been anſwerable to his deſires, he would ſtill have continu'd in his perfidiouſneſs; but finding that his projects were diſconcerted, and that it was impoſſible to conceal them any longer, he ſhrunk with horror to behold the dreadful condition into which he had brought himſelf, the crimes he had committed, and the certain diſgrace which would follow: Not able to endure this proſpect, he fell into deſpair, kill'd himſelf, and left a ſad example to poſterity of the exceſſes to which boundleſs ambition may carry the greateſt genius's, even when their hearts are not entirely corrupted. After his death Cyrus was inform'd of all

the particulars of his treachery. The Prince, without applauding himself for having early seen into the character of this minister, beheld with concern and lamented the unhappy condition of man, who often loses all the fruits of his talents, and sometimes precipitates himself into the greatest crimes, by giving way to an unruly imagination and a blind passion.

As soon as the peace was concluded Astyages return'd into his own dominions. After his departure Cyrus assembled the senators, Satraps, and all the heads of the people, and said to them in the name of the King: My father's arms have set Persia free from all foreign dependence. He might now, with a victorious army at his devotion, destroy your privileges and govern with absolute authority; but he abhors such maxims: It is only under the empire of Arimanius that force alone presides; Princes are the images of the great Oromazes, and ought to imitate his conduct; his sovereign reason is the rule of his will: How wise and just soever Princes may be, they are still but men, and consequently have prejudices and passions; nay, were they exempt from these, they cannot see and hear every thing; they have need of faithful counsellors to inform and assist them. 'Tis thus that Cambyses resolves to govern; he will reserve no more power than is necessary to do good, and chuses to have such restraints as may hinder him from doing ill: Senators, banish your fears; lay aside your distrusts; recognize your King: He preserves all your rights to you; assist him in making the Persians happy; he desires to reign over free children and not over slaves. At these words joy was diffus'd through the whole assembly. Some cry'd out, Is not this the God Mythras himself come down from the empyreum to renew the reign of Oromazes? Others, dissolv'd in tears, were unable to speak: The old men look'd on him as their son, the young men call'd him father; all Persia seem'd but

one

one family; It was thus that Cyrus avoided all the ſnares of Soranes, triumph'd over the plots of Cyaxares, and reſtor'd liberty to the Perſians: He never had recourſe to cowardly artifice, or mean diſſimulation unworthy of great ſouls.

Aſtyages died ſoon after his return to Ecbatan, and left the empire to Cyaxares. Cambyſes foreſeeing that the turbulent and jealous ſpirit of that Prince would ſoon excite new diſturbances, reſolv'd to ſeek an alliance with the Aſſyrians. The Emperor of Media and the King of Babylon had been for an hundred years paſt the two rival powers of the Eaſt; they were continually endeavouring to weaken each other in order to become maſters of Aſia. Cambyſes, who knew his ſon's abilities, propos'd to him that he ſhould go in perſon to the court of Nabuchodonoſor, to treat with Amytis, the wife of that Prince and ſiſter of Mandana; ſhe govern'd the kingdom during the King's madneſs. Cyrus had been hinder'd from going thither ſome years before by his mother's ſickneſs: He was exceedingly pleas'd with a journey to Babylon, not only that he might ſerve his country, but that he might likewiſe have an opportunity of converſing with the Hebrews, whoſe oracles (as he had learn'd from Zoroaſter) contain'd predictions of his future greatneſs; and he had no leſs deſire to ſee the miſerable condition of King Nabuchodonoſor, the report of which was ſpread over all the Eaſt. Having fill'd the council and ſenate with men of approv'd loyalty and capacity, he left Perſia, croſs'd Suſiana, and ſoon arriv'd at Babylon.

THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

EIGHTH BOOK.

BABYLON, the ſeat of the Aſſyrian monarch, had been founded by Semiramis, but Nabuchodonoſor had given it its principal beauties. This conqueror after long and difficult wars, finding himſelf in perfect tranquillity, apply'd his thoughts to make his capital one of the wonders of the world. It was ſituated in a vaſt plain, water'd by the Euphrates; the canals cut from this river made the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil ſo great, that it yielded the King as much as the half of his empire. [a] The walls of the city were built of large brick, cemented together with bitumen, or a ſlime ariſing out of the earth, which in time became harder than marble; they were fifty cubits thick, two hundred high, and form'd a perfect ſquare twenty leagues in compaſs; an hundred and fifty towers, rais'd at certain diſtances upon theſe inacceſſible walls, commanded all the country round about; an hundred gates of braſs regularly diſpos'd open'd

[a] *See Herod. lib.* 1. *Diod. Sic. lib.* 2. *Q. Curt. lib.* 5. *and Prideaux.*

to

to an innumerable multitude of people of all nations; fifty great ſtreets travers'd the city from ſide to ſide, and by croſſing each other form'd above ſix hundred large diviſions, in which were ſtately palaces, delightful gardens and magnificent ſquares. The Euphrates flow'd through the middle of Babylon, and over that river was a bridge built with ſurpriſing art; at its two extremities were two palaces, the old one to the Eaſt, the new one to the Weſt; near the old palace was the temple of Belus, from the centre of this building roſe a pyramid ſix hundred foot high, and compos'd of eight towers one above another; from the top of this pyramid, the Babylonians obſerv'd the motion of the ſtars, which was their favourite ſtudy, and by which they made themſelves famous in other nations. At the other end of the bridge ſtood the new palace, which was eight miles in circuit; its famous hanging gardens, which were ſo many large terraſſes one above another, roſe like an amphitheatre to the height of the city walls; the whole maſs was ſupported by divers arches built upon other arches, all cover'd with broad ſtones ſtrongly cemented, and over them was firſt a layer of reed mix'd with bitumen, then two rows of bricks, and over theſe thick ſheets of lead, which made the whole impenetrable to rain or any moiſture; the mould which covered all was of that depth as to have room enough for the greateſt trees to take root in it: In theſe gardens were long walks, which ran as far as the eye could reach; bowers, green plots and flowers of all kinds; canals, baſons and aqueducts to water and adorn this place of delights; a moſt ſurpriſing collection of all the beauties of nature and art.

The author or rather the creator of ſo many prodigies, equal to Hercules in bravery, and ſuperior to the greateſt men by his genius, was, after incredible ſucceſſes, fallen into a kind of madneſs; he ima-

gin'd himſelf transform'd into a beaſt, and had all the fierceneſs of one. As ſoon as Cyrus was arriv'd at Babylon, he went to ſee Queen Amytis: This Princeſs had for near ſeven years been plunged in a deep ſadneſs; but ſhe was beginning to moderate her grief, becauſe the Hebrews, who were then captives in the city, had promis'd her that the King ſhould be cur'd in a few days. The Queen was waiting that happy moment with great impatience; the wonders ſhe had ſeen perform'd by Daniel made her confide in what he ſaid. Cyrus, from a reſpectful conſideration of the affliction of Amytis, avoided ſpeaking to her concerning the principal deſign of his journey; he was ſenſible that it was not a favourable conjuncture to treat of political affairs, and waited for the King's cure, though with little hopes: In the mean while he endeavour'd to ſatisfy his curioſity touching the religion and manners of the Iſraelites. Daniel was not then at Babylon, but was gone to viſit and conſole the Hebrews diſpers'd throughout Aſſyria. Amytis made Cyrus acquainted with an illuſtrious Hebrew named Eleazar: The Prince being inform'd that the people of God did not look upon the King's frenzy as a natural diſtemper, but as a puniſhment from heaven, deſir'd the Hebrew Philoſopher to tell him the reaſon of it.

Nabuchodonoſor, ſaid the Hebrew Sage, being led away by impious men who were about him, came at length to ſuch an exceſs of irreligion, that he blaſphem'd againſt THE MOST HIGH; and to crown his impiety, he erected a golden ſtatue of an enormous ſize in the plain of Dura, and commanded that it ſhould be ador'd by all the nations he had ſubdu'd. He was admoniſh'd by divine dreams, that he ſhould be puniſh'd for his idolatry and pride in this life: A Hebrew nam'd Daniel, a man famous for ſcience, virtue and his knowledge of futurity, explain'd to him thoſe dreams, and denounc'd God's judgments

judgments which were ready to fall upon him. The words of the Prophet made at first some impression upon the King's mind; but being surrounded by profane men who despis'd the heavenly powers, he neglected the divine admonition, and gave himself up anew to his impiety. At the end of the year, while he was walking in his gardens, admiring the beauty of his own works, the splendor of his glory, and the greatness of his empire, he exalted himself above humanity, and became an idolater of his own proud imaginations. He heard a voice from heaven, saying, O King Nabuchodonosor, to thee it is spoken, The kingdom is departed from thee, and they shall drive thee from men, and thou shalt eat grass as the beasts of the field till seven years are pass'd, and until thou know that THE MOST HIGH ruleth over all the kingdoms of the universe, and giveth them to whomsoever he will. In the same hour was the thing fulfill'd and his reason was taken from him; he was seiz'd with a frenzy, and with fits of raging madness; in vain they attempted to hold him by chains; he broke all his irons and ran away into the mountains and plains, roaring like a lion; no one can approach him without running the hazard of being torn in pieces. He has no repose nor intervals of reason except one day in the week, which is the Sabbath [b]; he then holds discourses which should strike the impious with terror. It is now almost seven years that he has been in this condition, and we are expecting his total recovery in a few days, according to the divine prediction.

Here Cyrus sigh'd, and could not forbear saying, In all the countries through which I pass, I see nothing but sad examples of the weakness and misfortunes of Princes: In Egypt Apries suffers himself

[b] *See Megast. and Abyden. quoted by Josephus. Ant. lib.* 10. *cap.* 11, *and by Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib.* 9. *cap.* 41.

to be made a ſacrifice by his blind friendſhip for a perfidious favourite; at Sparta two young Kings were going to ruin the ſtate, if not prevented by the wiſdom of Chilo; the deplorable fate of Periander and his whole family at Corinth, will be a dreadful example to poſterity of the miſeries which tyrants and uſurpers draw upon themſelves; at Athens Piſiſtratus is twice dethron'd; Polycrates King of Samos ſuffers himſelf to be impos'd upon ſo far as to perſecute innocence; in Crete the ſucceſſors of Minos have deſtroy'd the moſt perfect of all governments; here Nabuchodonoſor draws upon himſelf the wrath of heaven by his impiety: Great Oromazes! was it only in your anger then that you gave Kings to mortals? Are grandeur and virtue incompatible?

The morning of the Sabbath, Cyrus, accompany'd by Eleazar, went to the place which the King of Babylon frequented; they beheld the unfortunate Prince come out of the Euphrates, and lie down under ſome willows which were upon the banks of the river. They approach'd him in ſilence; he was ſtretch'd upon the graſs with his eyes turn'd towards heaven; from time to time he ſent forth deep ſighs, accompany'd with bitter tears; in the midſt of his misfortunes there was ſtill upon his face an air of greatneſs, which ſhew'd that THE MOST HIGH in puniſhing had not entirely forſaken him: They forbore out of reſpect to ſpeak to him, or to interrupt the profound grief in which he ſeem'd to be plung'd. Cyrus deeply ſtruck with the ſad ſituation of this great Prince ſtood immoveable, and on his countenance appear'd all the tokens of a ſoul ſeiz'd with terror and compaſſion: The King of Babylon obſerv'd it, and without knowing who he was ſaid to him: Heaven ſuffers me to have intervals of reaſon, to make me ſenſible that I do not poſſeſs it as a property; that it comes from another;

that

that a ſuperior Being takes it from me and reſtores it when he pleaſes; and that he who gives it me is a ſovereign Intelligence, who holds all nature in his hand, and can diſpoſe it in order or overturn it according to his pleaſure. Heretofore being blinded by pride and corrupted by proſperity, I ſaid within myſelf, and to all the falſe friends who were about me; We are born as it were by chance, and after death we ſhall be as if we had never been; the ſoul is a ſpark of fire which goes out when the body is reduc'd to aſhes; come, let us enjoy the preſent good, let us make haſte to exhauſt all pleaſures; let us drink the moſt delicious wines, and perfume ourſelves with odoriferous oils; let us crown ourſelves with roſes before they wither; let ſtrength be our only law, and pleaſure the rule of our duty; let us make the juſt fall into our ſnares, becauſe he diſhonours us by his virtue; let us examine him with affronts and torments, that we may ſee whether he be ſincere. Thus it was that I blaſphem'd againſt heaven, and this is the ſource of my miſeries; alas! I have but too much deſerv'd them. Scarce had he pronounc'd theſe words, when he ſtarted up, ran away, and hid himſelf in the neighbouring foreſt.

The words of Nabuchodonoſor augmented the young Prince's reſpect for the Deity, and redoubled his deſire of being fully inſtructed in the religion of the Hebrews; he frequently ſaw Eleazar, and by degrees contracted a cloſe friendſhip with him. The Eternal being watchful over Cyrus, whom he had choſen to bring about the deliverance of his people, thought fit to prepare him by his converſation with the Hebrew Sage, to receive ſoon after the inſtructions of the Prophet Daniel. Ever ſince the captivity of the Iſraelities, the Hebrew Doctors, who were diſpers'd in the ſeveral nations, had apply'd themſelves to the ſtudy of the profane ſciences, and endea-

endeavour'd to reconcile religion with philoſophy: In order thereto they embrac'd or forſook the literal ſenſe of the ſacred books, according as it ſuited with their notions, or was repugnant to them: They taught that the Hebrew traditions were often folded up in allegories, according to the Eaſtern cuſtom, but they pretended to explain them; and this was what gave riſe afterwards to that famous ſect among the Hebrews call'd the Allegoriſts. Eleazar was of the number of thoſe philoſophers, and was with reaſon eſteem'd one of the greateſt genius's of his age; he was vers'd in all the ſciences of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, and had held ſeveral diſputes with the Eaſtern Magi, to prove that the religion of the Hebrews was not only the moſt ancient, but the moſt conformable to reaſon. Cyrus having divers times diſcours'd with Eleazar upon all he had learn'd in Perſia, Egypt and Greece, concerning the great revolutions which had happen'd in the univerſe, deſir'd him one day to explain to him the doctrine of the Hebrew philoſophers, concerning the three ſtates of the world.

[c] We adore, anſwer'd Eleazar, but one only God, infinite, eternal, immenſe: He has defin'd himſelf, HE WHO IS, to denote, that he exiſts of himſelf, and that all other beings exiſt only by him: Being rich by the riches of his own nature, and happy by his own ſupreme felicity, he had no need to produce other ſubſtances to augment his glory; nevertheleſs, by a noble and free effort of his beneficent will, he has created divers orders of intelligences to make them happy. Man firſt forms the plan of his work before he executes it; but THE ETERNAL conceives, produces and diſpoſes every thing in order, by the ſame act, without labour or ſucceſſion: He *thinks*, and immediately all the poſſible ways of repreſenting himſelf outwardly appear

[c] *See Diſc. p. 67.*

before

before him ; a world of ideas preſents itſelf to the divine intellect : He *wills*, and inſtantly real beings reſembling thoſe ideas exiſt in his immenſity ; the whole univerſe and the vaſt expanſe of nature, diſtinct from the divine Eſſence, is produc'd. The Creator has repreſented himſelf two ways, by ſimple pictures, and by living images. Hence there are two ſorts of creatures eſſentially different, material nature and intelligent nature ; the one repreſents only ſome perfections of its original, the other knows and enjoys it ; there are an infinite number of ſpheres full of ſuch intelligent beings. Sometimes theſe ſpirits plunge themſelves into the unfathomable depths of the divine Nature to adore its beauties, which are ever new ; at other times they admire the perfections of the Creator in his works ; this is their two-fold happineſs : They cannot inceſſantly contemplate the ſplendor of the divine Eſſence ; their weak and finite nature requires that they ſhould ſometimes veil their eyes ; this is the reaſon why the material world was created, the refreſhment of the intellectual.

Two ſorts of ſpirits loſt this happineſs by their diſloyalty ; the one call'd Cherubim, were of a ſuperior order, and are now infernal ſpirits ; the other call'd Iſchim, were of a leſs perfect nature ; theſe are the ſouls which actually inhabit mortal bodies. The chief of the Cherubim approach'd nearer the throne than the other ſpirits : He was crown'd with the moſt excellent gifts of THE MOST HIGH, but loſt his wiſdom by a vain complacency in himſelf: Being enamour'd with his own beauty, he beheld and conſider'd himſelf, and was dazzl'd with the luſtre of his own light ; he grew proud, rebell'd, and drew into his rebellion the greater part of the genii of his order. The Iſchim became too much attach'd to material objects, and in the enjoyment of created pleaſures, forgot the

the ſupreme beatitude of ſpirits; the firſt were too much elated with pride, the ſecond debas'd themſelves by ſenſuality. Upon this there happen'd a great revolution in the heavens; the ſphere of the Cherubim became a dark chaos, where thoſe unhappy intelligences deplore, without conſolation, their loſt felicity. The Iſchim being leſs guilty, becauſe they had ſinn'd through weakneſs, were leſs ſeverely puniſh'd: That they might forget their former ſtate, God ſuffer'd them to fall into a kind of lethargy or total inſenſibility, from which they awake only to enter ſucceſſively into mortal bodies: The organic moulds of all human bodies were ſhut up in that of Adam, and the order of generation was eſtabliſh'd; each ſoul awakens in ſuch a body, and in ſuch time, place and circumſtances as ſuit beſt with the decrees of eternal Wiſdom: The earth chang'd its form, it was no longer a garden of delights, but a place of baniſhment and miſery, where the continual war of the elements ſubjected men to diſeaſes and death. This is the hidden meaning of the great Hebrew Law-giver, when he ſpeaks of the terreſtrial paradiſe, and of the fall of our firſt parents. Adam does not repreſent one ſingle man, but all mankind. [f] Every nation has its allegories, and we have ours: Thoſe who do not comprehend them look upon our hiſtory of the forbidden fruit and of the ſpeaking ſerpent as fables more abſurd than the Mythology of the Perſians, Egyptians and Greeks concerning the fall of Arimanius, the rebellion of Typhon, and the golden apples in the garden of the Heſperides: All theſe allegories are founded upon the ſame tradition more or leſs diſguis'd. The weak and ignorant in every religion ſtick to the letter which kills, and the impious ſcoff at it; but neither the one nor the other underſtand the ſpirit which gives life.

[f] *See Diſc. p. 66, 67.*

Souls

Souls being once disunited from their origin had no longer any fix'd principle of union; the order of generation, mutual wants and self-love became here below the only bonds of our transient society, and took the place of justice, friendship and the love of order, which unite the heavenly spirits. Divers other changes happen'd in this mortal abode, suitable to the state of souls who suffer, and deserve to suffer, and are to be cur'd by their sufferings. In the end the great Prophet, whom we call the MESSIAH, will come and restore order in the universe: It is he who is the head, and the conductor of all intelligent natures; he is the firstborn of all creatures; the Deity united himself to him in an intimate manner from the beginning of time, and he has united himself to a portion of matter which serves him for a tabernacle; from this luminous centre incessantly stream rays that enlighten all the regions of immensity; this glorious body is the sun of the heavenly Jerusalem; the emanations of this adorable SHECHINAH are the life and light of all bodies, as those of his Divinity are the reason and happiness of all intelligences: It was this Messiah who convers'd with our fathers under a human form; it was he who appear'd to our law-giver upon the holy mount; it was he who spoke to the prophets under a visible appearance; it is he who will at last come in triumph upon the clouds, to restore the universe to its primitive splendor and felicity. How august a thing is religion, how worthy of God, how sublime in its simplicity when the veil which hides it from profane eyes is remov'd!

Cyrus transported with these sublime ideas wou'd by no means interrupt the Philosopher; but seeing that he had done speaking he said: I find that your Theology is perfectly conformable to the doctrine of the Persians, Egyptians and Greeks, concerning the three states of the world. Zoroaster being vers'd in the

the ſciences of the Gymnoſophiſts, ſpoke to me of the empire of Oromazes before the rebellion of Arimanius, as of a ſtate in which all ſpirits were happy and perfect: In Egypt the religion of Hermes repreſents the reign of Oſiris, before the monſter Typhon broke through the mundane egg, as a ſtate exempt from miſeries and paſſions: Orpheus has ſung the golden age as a ſtate of ſimplicity and innocence. Each nation has formed an idea of this primitive world according to its genius; the Magi, who are all aſtronomers, have plac'd it in the ſtars; the Egyptians, who are all philoſophers, have fancy'd it a republic of ſages; the Greeks, who delight in rural ſcenes, have deſcrib'd it as a country of ſhepherds. I further obſerve that the traditions of all nations foretel the coming of a hero, who is to deſcend from heaven to bring back Aſtræa to the earth: The Perſians call him Mythras, the Egyptians Orus, the Tyrians Adonis, the Greeks Apollo, Hercules, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter the Conductor and Saviour. It is true they differ in their deſcriptions, but all agree in the ſame truths; they are all ſenſible that man is not now what he was, and believe that he will one day aſſume a more perfect form; God cannot ſuffer an eternal blemiſh in his work; evil had a beginning and it will have an end; then will be the triumph of light over darkneſs; that is the time fix'd by deſtiny for the total deſtruction of Typhon, Arimanius and Pluto, the preſcrib'd period in all religions for re-eſtabliſhing the reign of Oromazes, Oſiris, Belus and Saturn. Nevertheleſs there ariſes one great difficulty, which no philoſopher has yet been able to ſolve me. I do not conceive how evil could happen under the government of a God who is good, wiſe and powerful; if he be wiſe he might have foreſeen it; if he be powerful he might have hinder'd it; and if he be good he would have prevented it: Shew me which way to

juſtify

juſtify the eternal Wiſdom; why has God created free beings, intelligences capable of evil? Why has he beſtow'd on them ſo fatal a gift?

Liberty, anſwer'd Eleazar, is a neceſſary conſequence of our reaſonable nature. To be free is to be able to chuſe; to chuſe is to prefer: Every being capable of reaſoning and comparing can preſer, and conſequently chuſe. 'Tis true, in every choice we neceſſarily chuſe what appears to us the beſt, but we can ſuſpend our choice till we have examin'd whether the good that preſents itſelf be a real good or only an apparent one: The ſoul is not free to ſee or not ſee the objects ſhe looks upon, to diſcern or not diſcern their differences when ſhe ſees them, or to chuſe without a reaſon for chuſing; but ſhe is free to look or not look, to conſider objects on one ſide only or on ſeveral, to chuſe them for a good or for a bad reaſon: We are never invincibly captivated by any finite good, becauſe we are able to think of a greater good, and ſo may diſcover a ſuperior charm which will carry us away from the leſs attractive object; and it is on this activity natural to all rational beings that liberty depends: Spirits only are active and capable of ſelf motion: God gives them activity as well as being; an activity different from his, as well as a ſubſtance diſtinct from his. One of the eſſential differences between bodies and ſouls is this, the one are neceſſarily tranſported wherever the moving power carries them, the other ſuffer themſelves to be moved only by the reaſon that enlightens them. God could not give us intelligence without giving us liberty.

But could he not, reply'd Cyrus, have hinder'd us from abuſing our liberty, by ſhewing us truth with ſo clear an evidence, that it wou'd have been impoſſible to miſtake? When the ſovereign beauty diſplays his infinitely attractive charms they ſeize and engroſs the whole will, and make all inferior amiableneſs

ableneſs vaniſh, as the riſing ſun diſpels the ſhades of night. The pureſt light, anſwer'd Eleazar, does not illuminate thoſe who will not ſee; now every finite intelligence may turn away his eyes from the truth. I have already told you that ſpirits cannot inceſſantly contemplate the ſplendors of the divine Eſſence; they are oblig'd from time to time to cover their faces; 'tis then that ſelf-love may ſeduce them and make them take an apparent good for a real one; this falſe good may dazzle them and draw them away from the true good. Self-love is inſeparable from our nature. God in loving himſelf eſſentially loves order, becauſe HE IS ORDER; but the creature may love itſelf without loving order; to what degree of perfection ſoever we ſuppoſe it rais'd, it is ſtill finite, and conſequently capable of purſuing, contrary to the will of the Creator, a good which it has not in its poſſeſſion; hence every created ſpirit is neceſſarily and eſſentially fallible: To ask why God has made fallible intelligences, is to ask why he has made them finite, or why he has not created gods as perfect as himſelf: A thing impoſſible.

Cannot God, continu'd Cyrus, employ his almighty power, to force free intelligences to ſee and reliſh truth? Under the empire of God himſelf, anſwer'd Eleazar, deſpotic rule and liberty are incompatible. God does every thing he pleaſes in heaven and upon earth; but he will not employ his abſolute power to deſtroy the free nature of intelligent beings; if he did, they would act no longer from choice but neceſſity; they would obey, but they would not love: Now love is what God demands, and it is the only worſhip worthy of him; he does not require it for any advantage to himſelf, but for the good of his creatures; he will have them happy and contribute to their own happineſs; happy by love, and by a love of pure choice:

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It is thus that their merit augments their felicity.

But cou'd not the Deity, ſaid Cyrus, have employ'd infallible means to ſecure the happineſs of intelligent beings, without violating their liberty? Has he not a ſovereign dominion over ſpirits as well as bodies? Can he not change the moſt rebellious and ſtubborn wills, and make them pliable and ſubmiſſive to his orders? In a word, cou'd he not have found expedients in the inexhauſtible treaſures of his power, wiſdom and goodneſs, to ſubject free agents as well as neceſſary ones to his eternal purpoſes? Doubtleſs, anſwer'd Eleazar, we cannot form too high an idea of the perfections of the infinitely perfect Being; he wills the happineſs of all intelligences, knows all the means requiſite to accompliſh his will, and ſooner or later will render thoſe means abſolutely and infallibly efficacious without violating the liberty of ſpirits. The permiſſion of ſin, expiatory pains, and all the fatal conſequences of our rebellion, are a part of thoſe means and of the plan of his adorable providence. God firſt exerted all the efforts of his power, he exhauſted, ſo to ſpeak, all the treaſures of his wiſdom, he diſplay'd all the charms of his goodneſs, he neglected nothing to prevent the fall of ſpirits. Seeing at laſt that he cou'd not keep them in the love of order, without violating their liberty, he left them for a moment to the fatal conſequences of their wandrings, becauſe he knew how to make all end in the accompliſhment of his decrees. He who calls being out of nothing can draw an infinite good from a tranſient evil, order from confuſion, the univerſal beauty of his work from a ſlight blemiſh which he ſuffers in it, and the permanent happineſs of all ſpirits from the momentaneous pains which a ſmall number of intelligences ſuffer by their own fault. All the heavenly hoſts are ſpectators of what paſſes here below, and are confirm'd for ever in

in the love of order, by seeing the terrible effects and natural consequences of our unfaithfulness. This is the reason why God suffers evil for a moment; our example is an eternal lesson to all spirits. The conduct of God offends us only because we are finite and mortal: We see not the whole plan of it, we judge of it only by small pieces. Let us raise our thoughts above this place of banishment, let us run over all the celestial regions, we shall see disorder and evil no where but in this corner of the universe. The earth is but an atom in comparison of immensity; the whole extent of time is but a moment in respect of eternity: These two infinitely small points will one day disappear; yet a little moment and evil will be no more; but our limited minds and our self-love magnify objects, and make us look upon that point which divides the two eternities as something great.

Cou'd not the infinite goodness of God, said Cyrus, have brought back his offending creatures to order without making them suffer? A good father will never make use of punishments when he can gain his children by mildness.

I have already told you, answer'd Eleazar, that we are capable of a twofold happiness: Shou'd God after our rebellion, continue to us the full enjoyment of created pleasure, we should never aspire to an union with the Creator; we should content our selves with an inferior happiness, without any endeavours to attain to the supreme beatitude of our nature. The only means to hinder free beings from relapsing into disorder, is to make them feel for a time the fatal consequences of their error. God owes it to his justice to punish the guilty, that he may not countenance crimes; and his goodness likewise requires it, in order to correct and reform the criminal. Natural evil is necessary to cure moral evil; suffering is the only remedy for sin. All will

suffer more or less in proportion as they are more or less gone astray: Those who have never departed from their duty, will for ever excel the rest in knowledge and in happiness; those who delay their return to it, will be always inferior to the other in perfection and felicity. The return of spirits to their first principle, resembles the motion of bodies towards their centre; the nearer they approach to it the more their velocity augments, and consequently those who begin sooner to return to their infinite centre will for ever outstrip the rest in their course. This is the order establish'd by eternal Wisdom, the immutable law of distributive justice, from which God cannot deviate, without being essentially wanting to himself, countenancing rebellion, and exposing all finite and fallible beings to the danger of disturbing universal harmony. You see in all this the conduct of a God, of a Creator who drew spirits out of nothing to make them happy, he punishes them that they may return into order, he suspends the exercise of his absolute power, that by the secret springs of an immutable wisdom, goodness and justice, he may make them accomplish freely his eternal purposes.

I comprehend you, said Cyrus, God could not deprive us of liberty without depriving us of intelligence, nor hinder us from being fallible without making us infinite, nor prevent our wandring without destroying our liberty, nor dispense us from expiatory pains without violating his justice and goodness: Exempt from all passions, he has neither anger nor revenge, he chastises only to amend, he punishes only to cure, he permits sin only that he may not violate our liberty, he is tender of that liberty only that he may make us merit, he exacts that merit only to augment our happiness, he does not employ his almighty power to force us to be happy, because he will give us the eternal pleasure of contributing to

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our own happineſs by love, and by a love of pure choice; he does good for the love of good, without having any need of our ſervices, without gaining any thing by our virtues, or loſing any thing by our crimes. Such is the glory of the God of the Hebrews, of HIM WHO IS, of the independent and ſelf-ſufficient Being. No philoſopher ever preſented me before with a chain of principles and conſequences, thoughts and ſentiments ſo worthy of the eternal Nature, ſo conſolatory to man, and ſo conformable to reaſon.

This, continu'd Eleazar, is what even the underſtanding of man can ſuggeſt to render the ways of God intelligible: It is thus that we confound reaſon by reaſon itſelf; it is by theſe principles that our doctors ſilence the philoſophers of the Gentiles, who blaſpheme againſt the ſovereign Wiſdom, becauſe of the evils and crimes which happen here below. But yet our religion does not conſiſt in theſe ſpeculations; it is not ſo much a philoſophical ſyſtem as a ſupernatural eſtabliſhment; Daniel will inſtruct you in it; he is at this time the Prophet of THE MOST HIGH: The Eternal often ſhews him futurity as preſent, and lends him his power to work prodigies; he is ſoon to return to Babylon, he will ſhew you the oracles contain'd in our ſacred books, and teach you what are the purpoſes for which God intends you. It was in this manner that the Hebrew Philoſopher inſtructed Cyrus, vainly ſtriving to fathom the unſearchable depths of divine wiſdom: What was defective in his opinions, was ſet right by the more ſimple and ſublime inſtructions of Daniel, who came back to Babylon a few days after.

It was the time fix'd by the Prophets for the recovery of Nabuchodonoſor, his frenzy ceas'd and his reaſon was reſtor'd to him. Before he return'd to his capital, he reſolv'd to pay a publick homage to the God of Iſrael in the ſame place where he had

given the notorious instance of his impiety. He order'd Daniel to assemble the Princes, magistrates, governors of provinces, and all the nobles of Babylon, and to conduct them to the plains of Dura, where he had some years before erected the famous golden statue. Cloath'd with his imperial robe, he mounted upon an eminence, from whence he might be seen by all the people; he had no longer any thing fierce or savage in his look; notwithstanding the dreadful condition to which his sufferings had reduc'd him, his countenance had a serene and majestic air: He turn'd towards the East, took off his diadem, prostrated himself with his face to the earth, and pronounced three times the tremendous name of JEHOVAH! Having ador'd the ETERNAL for some time in a profound silence, he rose up and said: People of all nations assembled together, it was here that you formerly beheld the extravagant marks of my impious and abominable pride; it was here that I usurp'd the rights of the Divinity, and would force you to worship the work of mens hands: THE MOST HIGH to punish this excess of irreligion condemned me to eat grass with the beasts for seven whole years; the times are accomplish'd; I have lifted up my eyes to heaven and acknowledg'd the power of the God of Israel; my reason and my understanding are restor'd me. Your God, (continu'd he, turning towards Daniel) is in truth the GOD OF GODS and KING OF KINGS. All the inhabitants of the earth are before him as nothing, and he does according to his will both in heaven and in earth; his wisdom is equal to his power, and all his ways are full of justice: Those that walk in pride he is able to abase, and he raises again those whom he had humbled: O Princes and people learn to render homage to his greatness! At these words the assembly sent up shouts of joy and fill'd the air with acclamations in honour of the God of Israel. Nabu-

chodonoſor was conducted back with pomp to his capital and reſum'd the government of his kingdom: He rais'd Daniel to the higheſt dignities, and the Hebrews were honoured with the firſt poſts throughout all the provinces of his empire.

Some days after, Amytis preſented Cyrus to Nabuchodonoſor, who receiv'd the young Prince in a moſt friendly manner, and gave him a favourable audience: However, the nobles of Babylon, who ſat in the King's council, repreſented in very ſtrong terms, that it might be dangerous to provoke the Median court at the preſent juncture, when the forces of the kingdom were much leſſened and its treaſure exhauſted by the late troubles during the King's illneſs; and that it would be better policy to foment the diviſions between the Medes and Perſians, in order to make them mutually weaken each other, and ſo give the King of Babylon a fair occaſion of extending his conqueſts. But Nabuchodonoſor who by the misfortunes he had ſuffer'd was cur'd of all ſuch falſe maxims, did not go into theſe ambitious projects of his miniſters; and Cyrus obſerving his good diſpoſitions, took that opportunity to lay before him the advantages he might find by an alliance with Cambyſes: He made the King ſenſible that the Medes were the only rivals of his power in the Eaſt; that it could not be for his intereſt to let them grow more conſiderable, by ſubjecting and oppreſſing the Perſians; but that he ſhould rather make the latter his friends, who might ſerve as a barrier to his empire againſt the enterpriſes of the Median Prince; and laſtly that Perſia lay very convenient for the Babylonian troops to march through it into Media, in caſe Cyaxares ſhould reſolve upon a rupture. The Prince of Perſia ſpoke both in public and private aſſemblies with ſo much eloquence and ſtrength of reaſon; he ſhew'd during the courſe of his negotiation, which laſted ſome months, ſo much candor

candor and truth; he manag'd the nobles with so much prudence and delicacy, that in the end he brought them all over: An alliance was sworn in a solemn manner, and Nabuchodonosor continued faithful to it the rest of his life.

Cyrus impatient to see the sacred books of the Hebrews, which contain'd oracles relating to his future greatness, convers'd every day with Daniel; and the Prophet gladly embraced the opportunity to instruct him in the Hebrew religion. He at length open'd the books of Isaiah, who had propheſied of Cyrus by name an hundred and fifty years before his birth, and the Prince read there these words: 'Thus 'saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus; whose 'right hand I have holden to subdue nations before 'him, and put Kings to flight; and I will open be-'fore him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall 'not be shut. I will go before thee, I will humble 'the great ones of the earth, I will break in pieces 'the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of 'iron, and I will reveal to thee the hidden treasures, 'and the secret of secrets [a], that thou mayst know 'that I the Lord who have call'd thee by thy name, 'am the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant's 'sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee 'by thy name, I have sirnamed thee, tho' thou hast not 'known me. I am the Lord, and there is none else, 'there is no God besides me.—I form the light and 'create darkness—I have made the earth and created 'man upon it, I, even my hands, have stretched 'out the heavens, and all their host have I com-'manded. I have raised him up in righteousness, 'and I will direct all his ways; he shall build my 'city, and he shall let go my captives, not for price 'nor reward, saith the Lord of hosts.'

Cyrus was struck with awe and reverence as well as astonishment, to see so clear and circumstantial a

[a] *Arcana Secretorum. Isaiah xlv. 3. vulg.*

prediction, a thing unknown in other nations; for there the oracles were always obscure and ambiguous. Eleazar (said he to the Prophet) has already shewn me, that the great principles of your Theology concerning the three states of the world agree with those of other nations. He has remov'd all my difficulties about the origin of evil, by proving the freedom of intelligent natures; he shuts the mouth of impiety by his sublime ideas concerning the pre-existence of souls, their voluntary fall, and their total restoration: But he has said nothing to me of the super-natural establishment of your law. I conjure you, by the God whom you adore, to answer my questions: Has your tradition the same source with that of other nations? Has it been transmitted to you by a purer channel? Was your Law-giver a mere philosopher, or a divine person?

I know, answer'd Daniel, the endeavours which our doctors use, to accommodate religion to the taste of the philosophers; but they are all bewilder'd and lost in a crowd of uncertain opinions: Who can find out the ways of God, or penetrate into his secret purposes? Our thoughts are weak, and our conjectures vain; the body, this earthly tabernacle, depresses the soul, and will not suffer it to reach those heights to which it fondly aspires. It is certain that God has permitted evil only that he might draw from it an infinite good; but how he will accomplish his purpose is a secret hidden from the eyes of mortals. All the systems that can be imagin'd are either dangerous or defective. The curiosity of seeing into every thing, explaining every thing, and adjusting it to our imperfect notions, is the most fatal disease of the human mind. The most sublime act of our feeble reason, is to keep itself silent before the sovereign Reason; let us leave to God the care of justifying one day the incomprehensible ways of his providence. Our pride and our impatience will

will not suffer us to wait for this unravelling; we would go before the light, and by so doing we lose the use of it. [a] 'Wo unto him that striveth with 'his Maker, unto him who is but clay and a pot-'sherd of the earth.' Forget therefore all the refin'd speculations of the philosophers. I shall speak to you a more sure and simple language; I shall propose nothing to you but such truths as are supported by the universal tradition of all nations, or else palpable facts, of which the eyes, ears and all the senses of men are judges.

The ETERNAL created our first parents in a state of innocence, happiness and immortality, but the ambitious desire of encreasing their knowledge, and of being as Gods, carried them to disobey the orders of THE MOST HIGH: They were driven from their habitation of delights, and their whole race was involved in their punishment, as it had been in their crime; thus we were degraded in our origin, and blasted in our source. When mankind discontinued to be just, they ceas'd to be immortal; sufferings followed close upon crimes, and men were condemn'd to a state of pain and misery, in order to make them aspire perpetually after a better life. For the first ages after the fall, religion was not written; the moral part of it was found in reason itself, and the mysteries of it were transmitted by tradition from the ancients. As men liv'd then several ages, it was easy to preserve that tradition in its purity. But the sublime knowledge of the first men having serv'd only to make them the more criminal, the whole race of mankind, except the family of Noah, was destroy'd, in order to stop the course of impiety and the increase of vice: The fountains of the great abyss were broken up, and the waters cover'd the earth with an universal deluge, of which there yet

[a] *Isaiah xlv.*

are ſome traces in the traditions of all nations, and of which we ſee every day convincing proofs, when we dig into the bowels of the earth. The conſtitution of the world, which had ſuffer'd by the fall, was impair'd anew [b]; the juices of the earth were impoveriſh'd and ſpoilt by this inundation; the herbs and fruits had no longer the ſame vertue; the air loaded with an exceſſive moiſture ſtrengthned the principles of corruption, and the life of man was ſhortned. The deſcendants of Noah, who ſpread themſelves over the face of the whole earth, quickly forgot this terrible effect of the divine indignation; they corrupted their ways, and gave themſelves up to all wickedneſs. It was then that the ETERNAL reſolv'd to chuſe a peculiar people to be the depoſitary of religion, morality and all divine truths, that they might not be debas'd and entirely obſcur'd by the imagination, paſſions and vain reaſonings of men. The ſovereign wiſdom choſe the moſt ſtupid and untractable people to be guardian of his oracles: The Aſſyrians, Chaldeans and Egyptians, who were eminent for ſubtility of underſtanding and a ſuperior skill in all the ſciences, might have been ſuſpected of having mixed their own notions and reaſonings with the divine revelations; but the Hebrews, among whom you have found the ſublimeſt ideas of the Divinity and of morality, have nothing in their natural genius which can make them ſuſpected of having invented theſe truths. Abraham, by his faith and obedience, was found worthy to be the head and the father of this happy people. THE MOST HIGH promiſed him, that his poſterity ſhould be multiplied as the ſtars of heaven, that they ſhould one day poſſeſs the land of Canaan, and that of his ſeed ſhould come the DESIRE OF NATIONS in the fulneſs of time. The riſing family of this Pa-

[b] *See M. de Meaux univerſal hiſtory.*

triarch,

triarch, feeble in its beginnings, went down to Egypt, where they became very numerous, awaken'd the jealousy of the Egyptians, and were reduced to a state of slavery; but having been tried and purified by all sorts of afflictions for the space of four hundred years, God raised up Moses to deliver them.

THE MOST HIGH, having first inspired our deliverer with the purest wisdom, lent him his almighty power to prove his divine mission by the most signal wonders; these wonders were nothing less than a frequent and instantaneous changing of the order and course of nature. The haughty King of Egypt refused to obey the orders of the ALMIGHTY. Moses terrified his court with repeated signs of the vengeance of Heaven: He stretched out his arm, and the whole kingdom felt its dreadful power; rivers were turn'd into blood; swarms of venomous insects spread every where diseases and death; prodigious lightnings with storms of hail destroy'd men, beasts and plants; a thick darkness hid for three days all the luminaries of heaven; and an exterminating angel destroy'd in one night all the first-born of Egypt. At length the people of God left the land of their captivity, and Pharoah pursued them with a formidable army. A pillar of fire was their guide by night, and a thick cloud by day conceal'd their march from the pursuers. Moses spake, the sea divided, the Israelites went through it on dry ground, and were no sooner pass'd than the sea return'd to its strength, and its impetuous waves swallowed up the infidel nation. Our fathers wander'd in the desert, where they suffer'd hunger, thirst and the inclemency of the seasons: They murmur'd against God; Moses spake again, a miraculous flood descended from heaven; dry rocks became fountains of living water; the earth open'd and swallow'd up those who refused to believe the promises, unless they might see their accomplishment. It was in this desert that

God himſelf publiſhed his holy law, and dictated all the rites and ſtatutes of our religion. He called up our conductor to the top of mount Sinai; the mountain trembled, and the voice of the ETERNAL was heard in thunders and lightnings: he diſplayed his dreadful power to make an impreſſion upon hearts more diſpoſed to be affected by fear than love. But the GOD appeared no leſs in the wonders of his goodneſs, than in thoſe of his power. The high and lofty One, who inhabits eternity, and whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, condeſcended to dwell in a viſible manner amongſt the children of Iſrael, and to direct them in all their ways. A moveable ſanctuary, with the ark of the covenant, was form'd and erected by his order, and the altar was ſanctified by the preſence of the glory of THE MOST HIGH. The rays of a heavenly light encompaſs'd the tabernacle; and God ſitting between the Cherubim from thence declared his will. Moſes by the command of God himſelf committed to writing our law and our hiſtory, the everlaſting proofs of his ſupreme goodneſs, and of our ingratitude; a little before his death he put this book into the hands of all the people; it was neceſſary at every inſtant to conſult it, in order to know not only the religious but civil laws; each Hebrew is obliged to read it over once a year, and to tranſcribe the whole at leaſt once in his life. It was impoſſible to alter or corrupt theſe ſacred annals, without the impoſture's being diſcovered and puniſhed as high treaſon againſt God, and an attempt againſt the civil authority.

Moſes died; our fathers left the deſert; nature was obedient to the voice of Joſhua, their new conductor; rivers ran back to their fountain-head; the ſun ſtood ſtill; the walls of a ſtrong city fell down at the approach of the ark; and the moſt courageous and warlike nations fled before the triumphant armies

armies of Iſrael, who at length took poſſeſſion of the promis'd land. Miracles however do not change the heart, even when they convince the underſtanding. The ſtrongeſt conviction is too weak to controul the violence of the paſſions. Scarce was this ungrateful and inconſtant people ſettled in that land of delights, but they grew weary of being under the immediate government of JEHOVAH, and were deſirous of having a King to go before them like other nations. God gave them a King in his anger, and the Hebrew government became monarchical. Solomon, the wiſeſt and moſt pacific of our Princes, erected a magnificent temple at Jeruſalem. The God of peace fix'd his habitation upon mount Sion; the miracle of the ark was perpetuated, the glory of the divine Majeſty fill'd the ſanctuary, and oracles were given from the moſt holy place as often as the High Prieſt went thither to enquire of the Lord. In order to perpetuate the memory of ſo many miracles, and to demonſtrate the truth of them to all future ages, Moſes, Joſhua, our Judges and our Kings eſtabliſh'd ſolemn feſtivals and auguſt ceremonies: A numerous nation incredulous and rebellious, their Kings, their prieſts, their tribes which were often divided among themſelves, concurr'd loudly, univerſally and ſucceſſively to give teſtimony to thoſe miracles by laſting monuments perpetuated from generation to generation. While the Iſraelites perſevered in their obedience THE LORD OF HOSTS was their protector, and rendered them invincible as he had promis'd; but as ſoon as they departed from the law of their God he gave them up a prey to their fierce enemies; nevertheleſs he chaſtis'd them like a father, and did not utterly forſake them. In every age he rais'd up prophets to threaten, inſtruct and reform them. Theſe ſages being ſeparated from all terreſtrial pleaſures united themſelves to the ſovereign Truth; the eyes

eyes of the ſoul which have been ſhut ſince the origin of evil, were open'd in theſe divine men to look into the counſels of Providence, and to know its ſecrets. The heavy judgments of God fell often upon the ſtubborn and untractable Hebrews, and as often this choſen people was brought back by the prophets to own and adore the God of their fathers. At length they were wholly carried away by that wretched inclination in all mortals to corporalize the Deity, and to form to themſelves a God with paſſions like their own. The God of Abraham, faithful in his threatnings as in his promiſes, has humbled us for many years under the yoke of Nabuchodonoſor; Jeruſalem is become deſolate, and the holy temple an heap of ſtones; vagabonds and captives in a ſtrange land we wander upon the banks of the Euphrates, and ſilently mourn when we remember Sion. But God having firſt rais'd up that proud conqueror to accompliſh his eternal purpoſes, then abaſed him in his anger. You have been witneſs both of his puniſhment and of his deliverance; nevertheleſs the meaſure of the divine judgments upon the race of Abraham is not yet fill'd up; it is you, O Cyrus, who are ordain'd by THE MOST HIGH to be their deliverer; Jeruſalem will be repeopled, the houſe of the Lord rebuilt, and the glory of the latter temple, which will one day be honour'd with the preſence of the Meſſiah, ſhall be greater than the glory of the former.

But what, ſaid Cyrus, is the deſign of this law, dictated by God himſelf with ſo much pomp, preſerv'd by your fore-fathers with ſo much care, renew'd and confirm'd by your prophets with ſo many miracles? In what does it differ from the religion of other nations? The deſign of the law and the prophets, reply'd Daniel, is to ſhew, that all creatures were pure in their original; that all men are at preſent born diſtemper'd, corrupt and ignorant

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even to the degree of not knowing their diſeaſe, and that human nature will one day be reſtor'd to its perfection. The miracles and prodigies of which I have made you a recital, are, ſo to ſpeak, but the play of wiſdom to lead men into themſelves, and make them attend to thoſe three truths which they will find written in their own hearts, upon all nature, and in the whole plan of Providence. The law of Moſes is but an unfolding of the law of nature; all its moral precepts are but means more or leſs remote, to carry us to what may ſtrengthen divine love in us, or to preſerve us from what may weaken it. The burnt-offerings, the purifications, the abſtinences, all the ceremonies of our worſhip are but ſymbols to repreſent the ſacrifice of the paſſions, and to ſhadow out the virtues neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh us in our primitive purity; thoſe who ſtop at the letter find expreſſions in our ſacred books that ſeem to humanize the Deity, promiſes that don't appear to have any relation to immortality, and ceremonies which they think unworthy of the ſovereign Reaſon: But the true ſage penetrates into their hidden meaning and diſcovers myſteries in them of the higheſt wiſdom. The foundation of the whole law, and of all the prophecies is the doctrine of a nature pure in its original, corrupted by ſin, and to be one day reſtor'd. Theſe three fundamental truths are repreſented in our hiſtory under various images. The bondage of the Iſraelites in Egypt, their journey through the deſert and their arrival in the promis'd land, repreſent to us the fall of ſouls, their ſufferings in this mortal life, and their return to their heavenly country. The hidden meaning does not deſtroy the literal ſenſe, nor does the letter of the law exclude allegory; it is equally profane to deny the one, or to deſpiſe the other. Theſe three principles, the traces of which are to be found in all religions, have been

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tranſmitted from age to age from the deluge to our time; Noah taught them to his children, whoſe poſterity ſpread them afterwards over all the earth; but in paſſing from mouth to mouth they have been alter'd and obſcur'd by the imagination of the poets, the ſuperſtition of the prieſts, and the different genius of each nation. We find more remarkable footſteps of them among the Orientals and Egyptians than any where elſe; becauſe Abraham [a], our firſt patriarch, who was famous in Aſia, renew'd them here, and becauſe the people of God were a long time in captivity on the banks of the Nile: But theſe ancient truths have been no where preſerv'd in their perfect purity except in the oracles written by our law-giver, our hiſtorians and our prophets.

But this is not all; there is a myſtery which is no where unfolded but in our religion, and of which I would not ſpeak to you, O Cyrus, if you were not the anointed of THE MOST HIGH, and his ſervant choſen for the deliverance of his people. The prophecies mention two advents of the Meſſiah, one in ſuffering, the other in glory. The GREAT EMANUEL will, many ages before his triumphant appearance in the clouds, live here upon earth in a ſtate of humiliation: He will expiate ſin by the ſacrifice of himſelf before he reſtores the univerſe to its primitive ſplendor. The ancient tradition from Noah concerning this grand ſacrifice was what ſuggeſted to all nations the firſt thought of offering victims to THE MOST HIGH as types of that perfect holocauſt: Your prieſts having loſt theſe primitive ideas fooliſhly imagined that the friendſhip of the immortals was to be gain'd by ſhedding the blood of beaſts; but what relation is there between

[a] *See Joſ. Ant. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7, *&* 8. *Eupolem. apud Euſeb. & Voſſ. de Philoſoph. ſectis. cap.* 1. *p.* 3.

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the divine Goodneſs and cruel immolation of harmleſs animals? Without our traditions about the great Emanuel, the origin of your ſacrifices is a perfect ænigma.

Here Cyrus interrupted Daniel and ſaid: Who is this great Emanuel of whom you ſpeak? Is he the ſame with him whom the Perſians call Mythras, the Egyptians Orus, the Tyrians Adonis, the Greeks Jupiter the Conductor, Apollo and Hercules? What is his origin and what is his nature? The GREAT EMANUEL, anſwer'd the Prophet, is he who is called the DESIRE OF NATIONS; he has been known to them by an ancient tradition, the ſource of which they are ignorant of, and which they have degraded by their fabulous names and impure images. The great Emanuel is not, as ſome of your philoſophers ſay, a ſubordinate God, but equal in glory to the great Jehovah: He is not a demi-God, but poſſeſſes in himſelf all the fulneſs of the Godhead: He is not a free production of the power of THE MOST HIGH, but a neceſſary emanation from his ſubſtance. All other beings, how exalted ſoever, whether Angels or Archangels, Seraphim or Cherubim were drawn out of nothing and may return to nothing again; but He is a pure ſtream flowing from the glory of the Almighty, the brightneſs of the everlaſting light, the unſpotted mirror of the majeſty of God, and the expreſs image of his goodneſs: He is of the ſame eſſence, he has the ſame attributes, but who can declare his generation? Let us not raſhly pry into thoſe impenetrable ſecrets; 'tis ſufficient to know, that THE DESIRE OF NATIONS will appear upon earth to bear our griefs, that he will be wounded for our tranſgreſſions and bruis'd for our iniquities.

But what neceſſity is there, cry'd out Cyrus, for this great ſacrifice? Has God any need of a bloody victim to appeaſe his wrath? Can the infinite Good-

Goodneſs require ſuch a cruel holocauſt? Beware of falling into the ſame error with which you reproach our prieſts. God has no need, reply'd Daniel, of an inhuman ſacrifice to pacify his vengeance, but he would countenance the rebellion of ſpirits and contradict himſelf ſhould he pardon the criminal without ſhewing his abhorrence of the crime, and diſplay the whole extent of his goodneſs without aſſerting the prerogatives of his holineſs. The divine Emanuel will leave the boſom of his Father, and remain long upon earth exiled from his preſence; the living image of the majeſty of God will take on him the form of a ſervant; the eternal WORD will become a mute babe, a man of ſorrows and acquainted with grief; the brightneſs of the increated light will ſuffer an eclipſe that will terrify the Seraphim and Cherubim; he will ſhew by his annihilation the homage that is due to the ETERNAL; by his humiliation the injuſtice of our pride; by his ſufferings the neceſſity of our expiatory pains; and laſtly, by his agony and the inexpreſſible anguiſh which our iniquities will cauſe him, the infinite averſion of THE MOST HIGH to the violation of order. 'Tis by this means that he will reconcile the juſtice of God with his mercy, repair the wrong done to his laws, and be at the ſame time both a ſacrifice for ſin and a model of all virtue. The hiſtory of his conflicts and triumphs will be for ever recorded in the regiſters of heaven, and give eternal teſtimony to the divine Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Juſtice. I ſee from far that day which will be the conſolation of the juſt and the joy of angels: All the heavenly powers will be preſent at this myſtery and adore its depth; mortals will ſee nothing but the ſhell and the outſide. Thoſe Hebrews who expect only a triumphant Meſſiah will not comprehend this firſt advent; the pretenders to wiſdom in all nations, who judge only by appearances, will blaſpheme

blaſpheme againſt what they underſtand not: Nay, the moſt juſt among men will in this life ſee only as in a myſtery the beauty, extent and neceſſity of that great ſacrifice.

The Prince of Perſia was ſtruck by this diſcourſe and waver'd in his thoughts; he perceiv'd that all the diſcoveries made by Zoroaſter, Hermes, Orpheus and Pythagoras were but imperfect traces and chance rays of the tradition from Noah: In Perſia, Egypt, Greece and in all other nations he had found only obſcure, uncertain and looſe opinions; but with the Hebrews he had found books, prophecies and miracles, the authority of which was inconteſtable. Nevertheleſs, he ſaw the truth only as thro' a cloud, his heart was not yet touch'd; he waited for the accompliſhment of Iſaiah's prediction. Daniel was not ignorant of the fluctuation of his mind, and ſaid to him: O Cyrus, religion is not a ſyſtem of philoſophical opinions, nor yet a hiſtory of miracles, or ſupernatural events, but a ſcience that dilates the heart and fills it with godlike ſentiments, a ſcience which God reveals only to pure minds; to know the ſecrets of religion, to feel its energy, a ſuperior power to man muſt deſcend into you, become abſolute maſter of you, and raviſh you from yourſelf: Your heart will then feel thoſe truths which your underſtanding has now but a ſmall glimpſe of. The time for this is not yet come, but it approaches [b]; until that happy moment, be content with knowing that the God of Iſrael loves you, will go before you, and will accompliſh his will by you: This accompliſhment will be an invincible proof of the truth of all I have ſaid to you. Make haſte to verify his oracles, and return with ſpeed into Perſia, where your preſence is neceſſary.

[b] *Vid. Theodoret de fide.*

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The young hero ſoon after left Babylon; the year following Nabuchodonoſor died, and his ſucceſſors broke the alliance ſworn between the Aſſyrians and Perſians. Cyrus ſpent twenty whole years in war with the Aſſyrians and their allies: The ſeveral nations of the Eaſt obſerving his moderation in the midſt of triumphs, willingly ſubmitted to his empire, and the conqueſts made by his humanity were more numerous than thoſe of his ſword. Being ever as generous as invincible, he made no other uſe of victory than to render the vanquiſh'd happy, and employ'd his power only to make juſtice flouriſh and to eſtabliſh and maintain the moſt excellent laws. The taking of Babylon made him maſter of all the Eaſt from the river Indus to Greece, and from the Caſpian ſea to the extremities of Egypt. Seeing then the entire accompliſhment of Iſaiah's prediction, his heart became affected with the truths he had learnt from Daniel; the miſt before his eyes was totally diſpell'd, he openly avow'd the God of Iſrael, and releas'd the Hebrews from their captivity by this ſolemn edict, which was publiſhed throughout the whole extent of his vaſt dominions. THUS SAITH CYRUS, KING OF PERSIA. THE LORD GOD OF HEAVEN HATH GIVEN ME ALL THE KINGDOMS OF THE EARTH, AND HE HATH CHARGED ME TO BUILD HIM A HOUSE AT JERUSALEM WHICH IS IN JUDAH. WHOEVER AMONG YOU IS OF HIS PEOPLE, HIS GOD BE WITH HIM: AND LET HIM GO UP TO JERUSALEM AND BUILD THE HOUSE OF THE LORD GOD OF ISRAEL, HE IS THE GOD.

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A DISCOURSE

UPON THE

THEOLOGY and MYTHOLOGY

Of the PAGANS.

MY firſt deſign was to inſert ſome critical notes in the margin of the foregoing book; but as the attending to ſuch remarks would have diverted the reader's mind too much from the principal ſubject, I thought it better to digeſt them into the form of a diſcourſe, which I divide into two parts. In the firſt I ſhall ſhew, that the moſt celebrated Philoſophers of all ages and all countries have had the notion of a Supreme Deity, who produced the world by his Power, and governs it by his Wiſdom. From the ſecond it will appear, that there are traces of the principal doctrines of reveal'd religion, with regard to the three ſtates of the world, to be found in the Mythology of all nations.

PART I.

Of the THEOLOGY *of the* PAGANS.

TO begin with the Magi or Perſian Philoſophers; According to the teſtimony of Herodotus [a], the antient Perſians had neither ſtatues, nor

[a] *Herod. Clio. lib.* 1. *p.* 56. *Sect.* 131. *Edit. Francof.* 1608.

temples, nor altars: 'They think it ridiculous (says 'this author) to fancy, like the Greeks, that the 'Gods have an human shape, or derive their ori-'ginal from men. They chuse the highest moun-'tains for the place of their sacrifice: They use 'neither libations, nor musick, nor hallow'd bread; 'but when any one has a mind to sacrifice, he 'leads the victim into a clean place, and wearing 'a wreath of myrtle about his Tiara, invokes the 'God to whom he intends to offer it. The priest 'is not allow'd to pray for his own private good, 'but for that of the nation in general; each par-'ticular member finding his benefit in the prospe-'rity of the whole.

Strabo [b] gives the same account of the antient Persians. 'They neither erected statues nor altars, 'says this historian; they sacrificed in a clean place, 'and upon an eminence, where they offered up 'a victim crowned. When the priest had cut it 'into small pieces, every one took his share. They 'left no portion of it for the Deities, saying, that 'God desires nothing but the soul of the victim.' The Orientals, full of the notion of transmigration, imagin'd, that the victim was animated by a criminal soul, whose expiatory pains were completed by the sacrifice.

The Persians indeed, as well as other Pagans, worshiped the fire, the sun, and the stars: But we shall see that they consider'd them only as visible images and symbols of a supreme God, whom they believed to be the sovereign Lord of nature. Plutarch has left us, in his treatise of Isis and Osiris, a fragment of the Theology of the Magi. This philosophical historian assures us, that they called the great God, Oromazes, or the Principle of light, that produced every thing, and worketh all in

[b] *Strabo lib. 15. p. 732. Edit. Paris, 1620.*

all [c].

all [c]. They admitted however another God, but of an inferior nature and order, whom they called [d] Mythras or the Middle God. They ſpeak of him ſometimes as a Being co-eternal with the ſupreme Divinity, and at other times as the firſt production of his Power [e].

The fineſt definition we have of the Deity among all the writings of the ancients, is that of Zoroaſter. It has been tranſmitted down to us by Euſebius in his *Præparatio Evangelica:* an author ſo far from being over favourable to the Pagans, that he makes it his buſineſs continually to expoſe and degrade their philoſophy. And yet he ſays, that he had read theſe expreſs words in a book of Zoroaſter that was extant in his time, and known by the title of, The ſacred collection of Perſian monuments.

'[f] God is the firſt of all incorruptible Beings, e-'ternal and unbegotten: He is not compounded 'of parts: There is nothing equal to him, or like 'him. He is the author of all good, and entirely 'diſintereſted; the moſt excellent of all excellent 'beings, and the wiſeſt of all intelligent natures; 'the father of equity, the parent of good laws, 'ſelf-inſtructed, ſelf-ſufficient, and the firſt former 'of nature.

The modern writers among the Arabians and Perſians, who have preſerved to us what remains of the antient doctrine of Zoroaſter among the Guebri or worſhippers of fire, maintain, that the firſt Magi admitted only one eternal Principle of all things. Abulfeda, cited by the famous Dr. Pocock, ſays, that according to the primitive doctrine of the Perſians [g], 'God was prior to both light and dark-

[c] *Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. Edit. Paris*, 1624. *p.* 370.
[d] Μεσίτης Θεός.
[e] *See Cudworth's Intell. Syſtem. p.* 288.
[f] *Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib.* 1. *p.* 42. *Edit. Paris.*
[g] *Pocock Specil. Hiſt. Arab. p.* 146.

'nefs, and had exifted from all eternity in an adora-
'ble folitude, without any companion or rival.'
Sarifthani, quoted by Dr. Hyde, fays, 'That the
'firft Magi [b] did not look upon the good and evil
'principles as co-eternal; they thought that light
'was indeed eternal, but that darknefs was pro-
'duced in time by the difloyalty of Ahriman, chief
'of the Genii.

M. Bayle affirms in his dictionary, that the anti-ent Perfians were all Manicheans; but however he came to entertain this notion, he muft certainly have given it up, if he had confulted the original authors: A method which that famous critick did not always take. He had a genius capable of going to the bot-tom of any fubject whatever; but he wrote fome-times in a hurry, and treated fuperficially the graveft and moft important fubjects. Befides, there is no clearing him from the charge of loving too much the difmal obfcurity of fcepticifm; he is ever upon his guard againft all fatisfactory ideas in religion; he fhews with art and fubtlety all the dark fides of a queftion, but he very rarely repref ents it in that point of light which fhines with evidence. What encomiums would he not have merited, had he em-ployed his admirable talents more for the benefit of mankind?

Such was the Theology of the ancient Perfians, which in the foregoing work I have put in the mouth of Zoroafter; and the Egyptians had much the fame principles. There is nothing more abfurd than the notion generally given us of their Theo-logy; nor is any thing more improbable than the allegorical fenfe which certain authors fancy they have difcovered in their hieroglyphicks. On one hand, it is hard to believe that human nature could

[b] *Hyde Relig. Ant. Perfar. cap. 9. pag. 161. & cap. 22. pag. 290.*

ever

ever ſink ſo low as to adore inſects, reptiles and plants, (which they ſee produced, growing and dying every day) without aſcribing certain divine vertues to them, or conſidering them as ſymbols of ſome inviſible Power. In the moſt barbarous countries we ſtill find ſome knowledge of a ſuperior Being, which is the object of the hope and fear of the moſt ſtupid ſavages. But though we ſhould ſuppoſe there are ſome nations in the world ſunk into ſo groſs an ignorance as to have no notion of a Deity, yet it is certain that Egypt cannot be charged with ſuch a degree of ſtupidity. All hiſtorians, as well ſacred as profane, agree in ſpeaking of this people as the wiſeſt of all nations; and one of the encomiums that the holy Spirit gives to Moſes, is, that he was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians. Would the Holy Ghoſt ever have ſpoken in ſuch a manner of a nation ſo ſenſeleſs as to worſhip onions, crocodiles, and the moſt deſpicable reptiles? On the other hand, there are certain modern writers who exalt the Theology of the Egyptians too high, and fancy that they find in their hieroglyphicks all the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion. After the deluge, Noah doubtleſs would not leave his children ignorant of the great principles of religion, with regard to the three ſtates of mankind; and that tradition might have been ſpread from generation to generation over all the nations of the world: But we ſhould not infer from thence, that the Heathens had as clear notions of the divine Nature and the Meſſias, as the Jews had themſelves. Such a ſuppoſition, far from doing honour to Holy Writ, would only derogate from its dignity. I ſhall endeavour to keep the juſt medium between theſe two extremes.

Plutarch, in his treatiſe of Iſis and Oſiris, tells us[1],

[1] *Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. p.* 354.

that the Theology of the Egyptians had two meanings; the one holy and ſymbolical, the other vulgar and literal; and conſequently that the figures of animals which they had in their temples, and which they ſeem'd to adore, were only ſo many hieroglyphicks to repreſent the divine attributes. Purſuant to this diſtinction, he ſays, that Oſiris ſignifies the active Principle, or the moſt holy Being [k]; Iſis the Wiſdom or Rule of his operation; Orus the firſt production of his Power, the model or plan by which he produced every thing, or the archetype of the world. We ſhall ſee hereafter whether it be reaſonable to think, that the Pagans had ever any knowledge of a trinity of diſtinct perſons in the indiviſible Unity of the divine Nature. Thus much at leaſt is plain, that the Chaldeans and Egyptians believ'd all the attributes of the Deity might be reduced to three, Power, Underſtanding and Love. In reality, whenever we diſengage our ſelves from matter, impoſe ſilence on the ſenſes and imagination, and raiſe our thoughts to the contemplation of the infinitely infinite Being, we find that the eternal Eſſence preſents itſelf to our mind under the three forms of Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs. Theſe three attributes comprehend the totality of his nature, and whatever we can conceive of him. Not to ſpeak therefore of the primitive traditions, which might poſſibly be the ſource of theſe three ideas concerning the divine Nature, it is nothing extraordinary, if the Egyptians and Orientals, who had very refining metaphyſical heads, ſhould of themſelves have diſcovered them. The Greeks and Romans were fonder of the ſciences which depend on ſenſe and imagination; and for this reaſon we find their Mythology ſeldom turns upon any thing but the external operations of the Deity in the pro-

[k] *Ibid. p.* 373, 374, 375.

ductions,

ductions of nature, whereas that of the former chiefly regards his internal operations and attributes.

By the help of these principles the Theology of the Pagans may be reduced to three principal Divinities, without doing violence to original authors, and without racking ones brain to digest their ideas, which are often very confus'd, into an intelligible system. They universally acknowledged one supreme God, whom they considered as the source of the Divinity, and the author of all beings; a Goddess his wife, daughter, or sister, whom they represented sometimes as the principle of the divine Fecundity, at other times as an emanation from his Wisdom, and often as the companion and subject of his operations; and lastly, a subordinate God, the son and viceroy of the Supreme. And thus we find among the Persians the great Oromazes, the Goddess Mythra, and the God Mythras; among the Egyptians Osiris, Isis and Orus; among the Greeks Jupiter, Minerva and Apollo.

In proportion as men departed from their primitive simplicity, and as imagination took the place of reason, the Poets multiplied the names and images of these Gods, and the three superior Divinities were lost in a crowd of inferior Deities. It is nevertheless certain, that the [1] Philosophers always preserv'd those three capital ideas. Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, Porphyry, Jamblichus, Plutarch, Macrobius, and all the philosophical writers whose works have been transmitted to us, and who speak of the Gods of Egypt and Greece, assure us that Ptha, Amoun, Osiris, Apis, Serapis and Anubis are the same; that Mars, Mercury, Apollo, Hercules, and Jupiter the Conductor, are also the same; that

[1] *See Huet. Dem. Evang. Jambl. de Myst. Egypt p. 150. Plut. Isis and Osir. p. 327. Macrob. lib. 1. Saturn. Cudw. Intell. System. from page 484 to 494.*

Cybele, Venus Urania, Juno, Minerva, Phebe and Proſerpine are in like manner one and the ſame. Whence we may fairly conclude, without falling into chimerical conjectures, that Oromazes, Oſiris, Cœlus, Saturn and Jupiter Olympius are different names to expreſs the one ſupreme God; that Mythra, Iſis, Cybele, Urania, Juno and Minerva denote the different attributes of the ſame Goddeſs; and laſtly, that Mythras, Orus, Mercury, Apollo, Hercules, and Jupiter the Conductor, are the ſeveral titles of the middle God, univerſally acknowledged by the Pagans.

I know that the modern Materialiſts have endeavour'd to reduce all the Pagan Divinities to one God and one Goddeſs, which, according to them, expreſs only the two principles of nature, whereof one is active, or the infinite force, the cauſe of all the motions we behold in the univerſe; the other paſſive, or the eternal matter, which is the ſubject of all the forms produced by that moving force: This idea is by far poſterior to that of the Orientals, Egyptians and firſt Greeks, concerning the three forms of the Divinity. It was neither receiv'd nor known, in the ſenſe of the Materialiſts, but by the diſciples of Epicurus, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

This diſtinction of the Gods into three claſſes, and that of the world into three ſtates, may be of great ſervice to clear up the confuſion of the ancient Mythologies. I will venture to ſay, that neither Scaliger, nor Bochart, nor Grævius, nor Gronovius, nor M. Huet, could ſucceed in this enterpriſe, becauſe they were men of more learning than philoſophy. Grammarians, Criticks, and thoſe perſons of ſtrong memories, who employ themſelves wholly in the ſtudy of words and facts, are rarely remarkable for a nice examination of principles, and are not always capable of entring into the ſenſe of the Philoſophers, or diſtinguiſhing the ſubtilty of

their

their ideas. I confeſs indeed, that it is dangerous to be too much attach'd to ſyſtems, but yet without a ſyſtematical genius it is impoſſible to carry the ſciences to any great perfection.

To return to Plutarch. He concludes his treatiſe of Iſis and Oſiris in this manner [m]: 'As he who 'reads the works of Plato may be ſaid to read Plato, 'and he who acts the comedy of Menander may be 'ſaid to act Menander; ſo the ancients gave the 'name of Gods to the various productions of the 'Deity.' Plutarch had ſaid a little before, 'That 'care ſhould be taken not to transform, diſſolve 'and ſcatter the divine Nature into rivers, winds, 'vegetables, or bodily forms and motions. This 'would be as ridiculous as to imagine, that the ſails, 'the cables, the rigging and the anchor are the pi'lot; or that the thread, the woof, and ſhuttle are 'the weaver. Such ſenſeleſs notions are an indig'nity to the heavenly powers, whom they blaſ'pheme whilſt they give the name of Gods to be'ings of an inſenſible, inanimate and corruptible 'nature.' 'Nothing, as he goes on, that is with'out a ſoul, nothing that is material and to be per'ceived by our ſenſes, can be God. Nor yet muſt 'we imagine that there are different Gods, accord'ing to the different countries of Greeks and Bar'barians, Northern and Southern people. As the 'ſun is common to all the world, though called by 'different names in different places; ſo there is but 'one ſole ſupreme Mind or Reaſon, and one and 'the ſame Providence that governs the world, tho' 'he is worſhiped under different names, and has 'appointed ſome inferior powers for his miniſters." Such, according to Plutarch, was the doctrine of the firſt Egyptians with regard to the divine Nature.

[m] *Page* 377, *and* 378.

Origen, who was co-temporary with Plutarch, follows the same principles in his book against Celsus, a Pagan Philosopher, who pretended to understand Christianity, because he understood some ceremonies of that religion, tho' he had never entered into the spirit of it. Now Origen expresses himself in this manner: 'n The Egyptian Philosophers have 'sublime notions with regard to the divine Nature, 'which they keep secret, and never discover to the 'people but under a veil of fables and allegories. 'Celsus is like a man who has travelled into that 'country; and tho' he has conversed with none but 'the ignorant vulgar, yet takes it into his head, that 'he understands the Egyptian religion. All the 'Eastern nations, the Persians, the Indians, the Syrians conceal secret mysteries under their religious 'fables. The wise men of all those religions see 'into the sense and true meaning of them, whilst 'the vulgar go no farther than the exterior symbol, 'and see only the bark that covers them.'

Let us next hear the testimony of Jamblichus, who had studied the religion of the Egyptians, and understood it thoroughly. He lived in the beginning of the third century, and was a disciple of the famous Porphyry. As both St. Clement o and St. Cyril of Alexandria p assure us, there were at that time a great many Egyptian books extant, which have been since lost: Several of these were highly respected for their antiquity, and ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, or one of his first disciples. Jamblicus had read these books, which had been translated by the Greeks; and this is the account that he gives of the Theology which they taught. 'According to the Egyptians, 'Eicton, or the first God, existed in his solitary unity 'before all Beings q. He is the fountain and original

n *Orig. contra Celf. lib.* 1. *p.* 11.
o *Strom. l.* 6. *p.* 133.
p *Contra Julian. lib.* 1.
q *Jambl. de Myst. Egyp. Ed. Lugd.* 1552. *p.* 153, 154.

'of

'of every thing that either has understanding, or is 'to be understood. He is the first principle of all 'things, self-sufficient, incomprehensible, and the 'father of all essences.' Hermes says likewise, 'That 'this supreme God has constituted another God, 'called Emeph, to be head over all spirits, whether 'ethereal, empyrean, or celestial; and that this se-'cond God, whom he stiles the guide, is a wisdom 'that transforms and converts into itself all spiritual 'Beings. He makes nothing superior to this God-'Guide, but only the first Intelligent, and first In-'telligible, who ought to be ador'd in silence.' He adds, 'That the Spirit which produceth all things 'has different names, according to his different pro-'perties and operations; that he is called in the E-'gyptian language Amoun, as he is wise; Ptha, as 'he is the life of all things; and Osiris, as he is the 'author of all good.' Thus, according to Jamblichus, it is evident that the Egyptians admitted only one Principle, and a middle God, like the Mythras of the Persians.

The notion of a spirit constituted by the supreme God, to be the head and guide of all spirits, is very ancient. The Hebrew Doctors believed that the soul of the Messias was created from the beginning of the world, and appointed to preside over all the orders of Intelligences. This opinion was founded on a notion, that finite natures cannot incessantly contemplate the brightness and glories of the divine Essence; and must necessarily sometimes turn off their view, and adore the Creator in his works; that at such times there must be an Head to lead spirits thro' all the regions of Immensity, and shew them all its beauties and wonders.

To have a more perfect knowledge of the Theology of the Orientals and Egyptians, it may not be improper to examine that of the Greeks and Romans, which is derived originally from it. The Phi-

loſophers of Greece went to ſtudy wiſdom in Aſia and Egypt. Thales, Pythagoras, Plato, drew the beſt of their knowledge from thence. The traces of the oriental tradition are now indeed in a manner worn out; but as there are ſeveral monuments of the Theology of the Greeks ſtill preſerv'd, we may judge of the maſters by their diſciples.

We muſt however diſtinguiſh between the Gods of the Poets and thoſe of the Philoſophers. Poetry deifies all the various parts of nature, and gives ſpirit to bodies, as well as body to ſpirits: It expreſſes the operations and properties of matter by the actions and paſſions of ſuch inviſible powers, as the Pagans ſuppoſed to be directors of all the motions and events that we ſee in the univerſe. The Poets paſs in a moment from allegory to the literal ſenſe, and from the literal ſenſe to allegory; from real Gods to fabulous Deities; and this occaſions that jumble of their images, that abſurdity in their fictions, and that indecorum in their expreſſions, which are ſo juſtly condemned by the Philoſophers. Notwithſtanding this multiplication of inferior Deities, theſe Poets however acknowledged, that there was but one only ſupreme God. This will appear from the very ancient traditions which we ſtill have of the philoſophy of Orpheus. I am far from thinking that Orpheus was the author of thoſe works which go under his name: I believe with the famous Grotius, that thoſe books were wrote by the Pythagoreans, who profeſſed themſelves diſciples of Orpheus: But whoever were the authors of theſe writings, 'tis certain that they are older than Herodotus and Plato, and were in great eſteem among the Heathens; ſo that by the fragments of them ſtill preſerved, we may form a judgment of the ancient Theology of the Greeks. I ſhall begin with the abridgment which Timotheus the Coſmographer gives us of the doctrine of Orpheus.

pheus. This abridgment is preſerved in Suidas [r], Cedrenus [s] and Euſebius.

'There is one unknown Being exalted above and 'prior to all beings, the author of all things, even 'of the æther, and of every thing that is below the 'æther: This exalted Being is Life, Light and Wiſ-'dom; which three names expreſs only one and the 'ſame Power, which drew all beings, viſible and 'inviſible, out of nothing.' It appears by this paſſage, that the doctrine of the creation, (or the production of ſubſtances) and that of the three forms of the Divinity were not unknown to the heathen Philoſophers: We ſhall ſoon find them in Plato.

Proclus has tranſmitted down to us this extraordinary paſſage of the Theology of Orpheus [t]. 'The 'univerſe was produced by Jupiter, the empyræum, 'the deep Tartarus, the earth, and the ocean, the 'immortal Gods and Goddeſſes; all that is, all that 'has been, and all that ſhall be, was contain'd originally in the fruitful boſom of Jupiter. Jupiter 'is the firſt and the laſt, the beginning and the end. 'All beings derive their origin from him. He is 'the primitive Father and the immortal Virgin. He 'is the Life, the Cauſe, and the Energy of all 'things. There is but one only Power, one only God, 'and one ſole univerſal King of all.' This paſſage ſeems to inſinuate, that the univerſe is a ſubſtantial emanation from the divine Eſſence, and not a mere effect of his Power; however, this groſs error is no proof of Atheiſm in him who maintains it, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

I ſhall conclude the Theology of Orpheus with a famous paſſage of the author of the Argonautica, who is looked upon to be a diſciple of his [u]. 'We will 'ſing firſt an hymn upon the ancient chaos; how the

[r] *Suidas de Orph. p.* 350.
[s] *Cedrenus, p.* 47.
[t] *Proclus de Timæo, p.* 95. *Edit. Fugger. An.* 1566.
[u] *Argon. apud Steph. p.* 71.

'heavens, the sea, and the earth were formed out 'of it. We will sing likewise that eternal, wise, 'and self-perfect love, which reduced this chaos in-'to order [w].' 'Tis clear enough from the doctrine of the theogony or birth of the Gods, that the ancient Poets ascribed all to a first Being, who disentangled the chaos. And it is for this reason that Ovid thus expresses himself in the first book of his Metamorphoses [x]. 'Before there was a sea and an 'earth, before there was any heaven to cover the 'world, universal nature was but one indigested 'sluggish mass, called a chaos. The seeds of all 'things jumbled together were in a perpetual dis-'cord, till a beneficent Deity put an end to the dif-'ference.' Words which shew plainly that the Latin Poet, who followed the Greek tradition, makes a distinction between the chaos, and God, who by his Wisdom brought it out of confusion into order. I ought however in this place to observe, that the Greek and Roman Mythology, in relation to the chaos, is much more imperfect than that of the Orientals and Egyptians, who tell us, that there was an happy and perfect state of the world prior to the chaos; that the good Principle could never produce any thing evil; that his first work could not be confusion and disorder; and in a word, that physical evil is nothing else but a consequence of moral evil. 'Twas the imagination of the Greek Poets that first brought forth the monstrous Manichean doctrine of two co-eternal principles; a supreme Intelligence and a blind matter; light and darkness; an indigested chaos, and a Deity to reduce it into order.

Let any one read Homer and Virgil with a proper attention, and he will see, that notwithstanding the wild flights of their imagination, and the indecent

[w] *Ver.* 423. Πρεσβύταλέν τε, καὶ ἀντοτελῆ πολύμητιν Ἔρωτα.
[x] *Ovid. Metam. l.* 1. *p.* 1.

alle-

allegories by which they ſometimes diſhonour the divine Nature, the marvelous which runs through their fable is founded upon theſe three principles. 1. That there is one ſupreme God, whom they every where call the Father, and the Sovereign Lord of Gods and men, the Architect of the world, the Prince and Governor of the univerſe, the firſt God, and the great God. 2. That univerſal Nature is full of ſubordinate ſpirits, who are the miniſters of that ſupreme God. 3. That good and evil, virtue and vice, knowledge and error, ariſe from the different influence and inſpiration of the good and evil Genii, who dwell in the air, the ſea, the earth, and the heavens.

The tragick and lyrick Poets expreſs themſelves after the ſame manner as the epick Poets. Euripides expreſly acknowledges the dependence of all beings upon one ſole Principle: 'O Father, and King of 'Gods and men! ſays he; why do we miſerable 'mortals fancy that we know any thing, or can do 'any thing? Our fate depends upon thy will [y].'

Sophocles repreſents the Deity to us as a ſovereign Intelligence, which is truth, wiſdom, and the eternal law of all ſpirits [z]. 'Tis not, ſays he, to any mortal nature that laws owe their origin; they come from above; they come down from heaven itſelf; Jupiter Olympius is alone the father of them.

Plautus introduceth an inferior Deity ſpeaking in this manner [a]: 'I am a citizen of the celeſtial city, 'of which Jupiter, the Father of Gods and men, is 'the head. He commands the nations, and ſends 'us over all kingdoms, to take an account of the 'conduct and actions, the piety and virtue of men. 'In vain do mortals endeavour to bribe him with

[y] *Eurip. Supplic. Act.* 3. *ver.* 734, *&c. Edit. Cant.*
[z] *In Oedip. Tyran.* [a] *Plaut. Rudens.*

'their

'their oblations and ſacrifices. They loſe their pains,
'for he abhors the worſhip of the impious.

'O Muſe, ſays Horace, purſuant to the cuſtom
'of our anceſtors, celebrate firſt the great Jove, who
'rules over Gods and men, the earth, the ſeas, and
'the whole univerſe: There is nothing greater than
'he, nothing that is like, nothing that is equal to
'him [b]!

I ſhall conclude my quotations out of the Poets with a ſurpriſing paſſage of Lucan. When Cato, after croſſing the deſarts of Lybia, arrives at the temple of Jupiter Ammon, Labienus is for perſuading him to conſult the Oracle. Upon which occaſion the Poet puts this anſwer in the mouth of that philoſophical hero, '[c] Why do you, Labienus, pro-
'poſe to me to ask the Oracle whether we ſhould
'chuſe to die in a ſtate of freedom with our ſwords
'in our hands, rather than ſee tyranny enſlave our
'country? Whether this mortal life be only a re-
'mora to a more laſting one? Whether violence
'can hurt a good man? Whether virtue does not
'make us ſuperior to misfortunes? And whether
'true glory depends upon ſucceſs? We know theſe
'things already, and the Oracle cannot give us clearer
'anſwers than what God makes us feel every mo-
'ment in the bottom of our heart. We are all united
'to the Deity. He has no need of words to convey
'his meaning to us; and he told us at our birth eve-
'ry thing that we have occaſion to know. He hath
'not choſen the parched ſands of Lybia to bury
'truth in thoſe deſarts, that it might be underſtood
'only by a ſmall number. He makes himſelf known
'to all the world, he fills all places, the earth, the ſea,
'the air, the heavens; he makes his particular abode
'in the ſoul of the juſt: Why then ſhould we ſeek
'him elſewhere?' In the foregoing paſſage I have

[b] B. 1. *Ode* 12. [c] *Lucan, lib.* 9. *ver.* 566.

omit

omitted this expreſſion, *Jupiter eſt quodcunque vides*; not only becauſe in ſome manuſcripts we read *Jupiter eſt quocunque vides*, but alſo becauſe the Poet by the word *quodcunque*, confounds the viſible world with the ethereal matter, which the Stoicks and Orientals conſidered as the body of the Divinity: However he repreſents Cato as acknowledging a ſovereign Intelligence, which is all that I would prove.

Let us paſs from the Poets to the Philoſophers, and begin with Thales the Mileſian, chief of the Ionick ſchool [d], who lived above ſix hundred years before the birth of Chriſt. We have none of his works now left; but we have ſome of his maxims, which have been tranſmitted down to us by the moſt venerable writers of antiquity. 'God is the moſt 'ancient of all beings; he is the author of the uni-'verſe, which is full of wonders [e]; he is the Mind 'which brought the chaos out of confuſion into 'order [f]; he is without beginning and without end-'ing, and nothing is hid from him [g]; nothing can 'reſiſt the force of Fate; but this fate is nothing 'but the immutable reaſon and eternal power of 'Providence [h].' What is ſtill more ſurpriſing in Thales, is his definition of the ſoul: He calls it 'a 'ſelf-moving principle [i], thereby to diſtinguiſh it 'from matter.

Pythagoras [k] is the ſecond great Philoſopher after Thales, and chief of the Italick ſchool. Every body knows the abſtinence, ſilence, retirement and great purity of morals which he required of his diſciples. He was very ſenſible that human underſtanding alone could never attain to the knowledge of divine things,

[d] *Flor. Olymp.* L. [e] *Diog. Laert. vita Thal. lib.* I.
[f] *Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib.* 1. *p.* 1113. *Edit. Amſt.* 1661.
[g] *S. Clem. Alex. Strom. v.* [h] *Stob. Ecl. Phyſ. cap.* 8.
[i] *Plut. de Plac. Phil. lib.* 4. *c.* 2, *Stob. Ecl. Phyſ. cap.* 40.
[k] *Floruit Olymp.* LX.

unleſs

unleſs the heart was purged of its paſſions. Now theſe are the notions which he has left us of the Deity. ‘ [l] God is neither the object of ſenſe, nor ſubject to ‘ paſſion; but inviſible, purely intelligible, and ſu- ‘ premely intelligent. In his body he is like the ‘ light, and in his ſoul he reſembles truth [m]. He is ‘ the univerſal Spirit that pervades and diffuſeth itſelf ‘ over all nature. All beings receive their life from ‘ him [n]. There is but one only God, who is not, ‘ as ſome are apt to imagine, ſeated above the world, ‘ beyond the orb of the Univerſe; but being all in ‘ himſelf, he ſees all the beings that inhabit his Im- ‘ menſity. He is the ſole Principle, the Light of ‘ heaven, the Father of all; he produces every ‘ thing, he orders and diſpoſes every thing; he is ‘ the reaſon, the life, and the motion of all beings [o].

He taught, that beſides the firſt Principle, there were three ſorts of intelligent beings, Gods, Heroes and Souls [p]. He conſidered the firſt as the unalterable images of the ſovereign Mind, human ſouls as the leaſt perfect of reaſonable ſubſtances, and heroes as a ſort of middle beings placed between the two others, in order to raiſe up ſouls to the divine union [q]. Thus he repreſents to us the divine Immenſity as containing innumerable worlds inhabited by ſpirits of different orders. And this is the true ſenſe of that famous expreſſion aſcribed to the Pythagoreans, that Unity was the principle of all things, and that from this Unity there ſprung an infinite duality. We are not by this duality to underſtand the two principles of the Manichees; but as ſome think the ſecond and third forms of the Orphean Trinity and triform Deity, or rather a world of intelligent and corporeal ſubſtances, which is the effect whereof unity is the

[l] *Plut. vita Numæ & Diog. Laert. lib.* 12.
[m] *Vit. Pyth. Porphyr.* [n] *Lact. Inſt. lib.* V.
[o] *S. Juſt. Cohort.* 1. *ad Græc. p.* 18. [p] *Diog. Laert. lib.* VIII.
[q] *Hierocl. Com. in Carm. Aurea Pyth.*

cauſe.

cauſe. [n] This is the ſentiment of Porphyry, and it ought to be preferred before that of Plutarch, who is for aſcribing the Manichean ſyſtem to Pythagoras, without producing for it any proof.

Pythagoras agreed with Thales in defining the Soul to be a ſelf-moving Principle [o]. He maintained further, 'That when it quits the body, it is 're-united to the ſoul of the world [p]; that it is not 'a God, but the work of an eternal God [q]; and 'that it is immortal on account of its principle [r].' This Philoſoper was of opinion that man was compoſed of three parts [s], a pure ſpirit, an ethereal matter, (which he called the ſubtile vehicle of the ſoul) and a mortal or groſs body. The old Greek Poets had dreſſed up this opinion in a different guiſe; they called the ethereal body the repreſentation, the image, or the ſhadow; becauſe they fancy'd that this ſubtile body, when it came down from heaven to animate the terreſtrial body, aſſumed its form juſt as melted metal takes that of the mold in which it is caſt. They ſaid, that after death the ſpirit, ſtill clothed with this ſubtile vehicle, flew up to the regions of the moon, where they placed the Elyſian fields. And there, as they imagin'd, a ſort of ſecond death enſued by the ſeparation of the pure ſpirit from its vehicle: The one was united to the Gods, the other ſtaid in the abode of the ſhades. This is the reaſon why Ulyſſes ſays in the Odyſſeis, 'That he ſaw in the Elyſian fields the divine Her-'cules, i. e. his image; for as for him, he is with 'the immortal Gods, and aſſiſts at their banquets [t].' Pythagoras did not adopt the poetick fiction of a ſecond death. He held, that the pure ſpirit, and its ſubtile vehicle being born together, were inſepara-

[n] *Porphyr. vita Pyth.*
[o] *Plut. Plac. l. 4. cap. 2.*
[p] *Cicer. de Senect. c. 21.*
[q] *Ib. de Nat. Deor. l. 2.*
[r] *Tuſc. lib. 1. p. 1300.*
[s] Πνεῦμα, Ψυχὴ, Σῶμα.
[t] *Odyſſ. lib. 11. p. 167.*

ble,

ble, and returned after death to the ſtar from whence they deſcended. The Platoniſts, and almoſt all the ancient Philoſophers had the ſame notion [u]. St. Paul, ſpeaking of the reſurrection, ſeems to favour this diſtinction of the celeſtial and the terreſtrial body: 'But ſome man will ſay, how are the dead raiſed up? and with what body do they come? 'Thou fool, that which thou ſoweſt is not that 'body which ſhall be, but bare grain.——So alſo 'is the reſurrection of the dead, it is ſown in cor-'ruption, it is raiſed in incorruption; it is ſown 'in diſhonour, it is raiſed in glory; it is ſown in 'weakneſs, it is raiſed in power; it is ſown a na-'tural body, it is raiſed a ſpiritual body.——Now 'this, I ſay, brethren, becauſe that fleſh and blood 'cannot inherit the kingdom of God [x].' Hence it is, that ſome of the ancient fathers, as well as our modern divines [y], have concluded, that the mortal and terreſtrial body, which is ever changing, and does not continue one moment the ſame, is ſomething merely accidental to our ſubſtance, and does not originally belong to it; a thick cruſt, a coarſe covering caſt over the celeſtial, ſpiritual, active and glorious body, which being unveiled and enlarged at the reſurrection, will appear in all its beauty; that this immortal ſeed, this incorruptible body, this hidden principle, which is perhaps at preſent the ſeat of the ſoul, will, for reaſons known to God only, remain buried after death in the common maſs of matter till the laſt manifeſtation of the divine Power; and that then the face of the earth will be

[u] *Plot. Enn.* 4. *l.* 3. *&* *Enn.* 6. *l.* 4. *Philopon. Proem. in Ariſt. de Anim. Procl. Comm. in Tim. p.* 164. 290. *Hierocl. aurea Carm. p.* 293. *Suidas the word* Αυγοειδὲς. *Cudworth Intellect. Syſt. p.* 791.

[x] 1 *Cor. xv. ver.* 35, 42, 50.

[y] *Dr. Clarke on the Being and Attributes of God, p.* 357, 358, 359.

renewed

renewed by purifying flames, which will purge our globe of all that dark and earthly drofs which it has contracted. And this notion renders the doctrine of the refurrection intelligible and philofophical.

I fhall conclude the article of Pythagoras with a fummary of his doctrine as it is given us by St. Cyril. 'We fee plainly, fays this father, that Pythagoras 'maintain'd, that there was but one God, the ori- 'ginal and caufe of all things, who enlightens every 'thing, animates every thing, and from whom 'every thing proceeds, who has given being to all 'things, and is the fource of all motion [z].

After Pythagoras comes Anaxagoras [a] of the Ionick fect, born at Clazomene, and mafter to Pericles the Athenian hero. This Philofopher was the firft after Thales in the Ionick fchool who perceived the neceffity of introducing a fupreme Intelligence for the formation of the univerfe. He rejected with contempt, and with great ftrength of reafon refuted the doctrine of thofe who held, that [b] a blind neceffity, and the cafual motions of matter had produced the world. He endeavoured to prove, that a pure and uncompounded Spirit prefides over the univerfe.

According to Ariftotle's account, the reafoning of Anaxagoras was founded upon thefe two principles: 1. 'That the idea of matter not including 'that of active force, motion could not be one of 'its properties. We muft therefore, faid he, feek 'fomewhere elfe to find out the caufe of its acti- 'vity. Now this active principle, as it was the 'caufe of motion, he called the foul, becaufe it ani- 'mates the univerfe [c]. 2. He diftinguifhed between 'this univerfal principle of motion, and the thinking 'principle, which laft he called the underftand-

[z] *S. Cyril. contra Julian. lib.* 1. *p.* 85.
[a] *Flor. Olymp.* LXXX. [b] *Plut. vita Pericl.*
[c] *Arift. de anim. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. *p.* 619. *Edit. Parif.* 1629.

'ing [d].

'ing[d]. He saw nothing in matter that had any resem-
'blance to this property; and from thence he in-
'ferred, that there was in nature another substance
'besides matter. But he added, that the soul and spi-
'rit were one and the same substance distinguished by
'us only in regard of its different operations; and
'that of all essences it was the most simple, the
'most pure, and the most exempt from all mixture
'and composition.' This Philosopher passed at Athens for an Atheist, because he denied that the stars and planets were Gods[e]. He maintained, that the first were suns, and the latter habitable worlds; so very ancient is the system of a plurality of worlds, which has been generally thought to be modern.

Plato[f] condemns Anaxagoras for having explained all the phænomena of nature by matter and motion. Descartes has only revived this opinion. I cannot but think it very unjust to accuse the Philosopher of Clazomene, or his follower of Atheism, on this account, since they both lay it down for a principle, that motion is not a property of matter, and consequently, that the moving force is altogether spiritual. It must nevertheless be allowed, that the French Philosopher is blameable in supposing that the visible world is the necessary and unavoidable effect of a mere impulsion given to an indefinite matter. Hence it would follow, 1. That the laws of motion are not arbitrary and dependent on a sovereign Intelligence who acts with wisdom and design; which totally destroys the idea of final causes. 2. That the world, such as we see it, with all its irregularities, defects and disorders, is precisely in the same state wherein it was at first produced by the Creator: These two principles were the fatal

[d] *Ibid. p.* 620.
[e] *Plat. de Legib.* 10. *p.* 886.
[f] *Plat. Phæd. p.* 73.

source

ſource of Spinoza's Atheiſm: Believing with Deſcartes, that matter and extenſion are the ſame thing, and that all the different phænomena of nature are the effect of the neceſſary laws of motion, he preſently inferred, that immenſe extenſion and infinite force might be properties of the ſame eternal ſubſtance, which acts by the immutable laws of a blind neceſſity.

The moſt ſublime genius of our age, being ſenſible of theſe monſtrous abuſes of Carteſianiſm, reſolved to undermine the foundations of that philoſophy. He demonſtrated that the primary laws of motion are purely arbitrary, and eſtabliſhed with knowledge and deſign by an intelligent Architect, in order to the preſervation of his work, and the accompliſhment of ſuch ends as are worthy of his wiſdom. It is with great injuſtice that this Philoſopher has been accuſed of throwing us back into the occult qualities of the Peripateticks. I confeſs indeed that the obſcure and confuſed ideas which abound in the writings of ſome of his diſciples, have given too much occaſion to certain foreigners to reject the philoſophy of Sir Iſaac Newton, at the ſame time that they admire his geometry; but it is clear from his [g] firſt writings, that he never conſidered attraction as a cauſe, but only as an effect, and that he always ſuppoſed that this effect might be produced by impulſion [h]. Provided we reject the abſolute plenum of the Carteſians, their romantick elements, and their celeſtial vortices which are by no means geometrical, this incomparable Philoſopher [i] admits

[g] *Vis centripeta eſt, qua corpora verſus punctum aliquid tanquam ad centrum undique trahuntur, impelluntur vel utcunque tendunt. Phil. Nat. Princ. p.* 2.

[h] *Quam ego attractionem appello, fieri ſane poteſt ut ea efficiatur impulſu, vel alio aliquo modo nobis ignoto. Opt. Ed. Lat. pag.* 380.

[i] *Phil. Nat. Princ. pag. ult. Opt. pag.* 350.

that there may be a ſubtile ſpirit, or ethereal matter diffuſed through all the immenſe ſpaces, to be the univerſal cauſe and ſpring of all the motions of the celeſtial and terreſtrial bodies; of elaſticity, electricity, coheſion, fluidity, vegetation and ſenſation; of the emiſſion, refraction and reflection of light, and even of attraction itſelf, which he looks upon as the immediate cauſe of the moſt part of natural effects; he would not however pretend to explain the laws of this ethereal fluid, for want of a ſufficient number of experiments to prove them. It was an eſſential principle with him, that natural philoſophy ſhould be founded upon experiments, and that theſe ſhould afterwards be applied to geometry, in order to gather from thence ſomething more to be depended upon than ingenious conjectures. His writings diſcover a wonderful ſagacity, penetration and depth, and all the marks of a ſolid underſtanding, which allows nothing to imagination in matters of reaſon; and though Deſcartes muſt be granted to have ſurpaſſed him in perſpicuity and method, he was unqueſtionably neither ſo profound nor ſo geometrical a genius, and gave a greater looſe to imagination.

Socrates [k] follows cloſe after Anaxagoras. The common notion is, that he was a martyr for the Unity of the Godhead, in having refuſed to pay his homage to the Gods of Greece; but it is a miſtake. In the apology that Plato makes for this Philoſopher, Socrates acknowledgeth certain ſubordinate Deities, and teaches that the ſtars and the ſun are animated by intelligences who ought to be worſhiped with divine honours. The ſame Plato in his dialogue upon holineſs [l] tells us, that Socrates was not puniſhed for

[k] *Floruit Olym.* xc.

[l] *Plat. Eutyph. p. 5, & 6.*

deny-

denying that there were inferior Gods, but for declaiming openly againſt the Poets who aſcribed human paſſions and enormous crimes to thoſe Deities.

Socrates however, whilſt he ſuppoſed ſeveral inferior Gods, admitted all the while but only one eternal Principle. Xenophon has left us an excellent abridgment of the Theology of that Philoſopher. 'Tis perhaps the moſt important piece we have of antiquity. It contains the converſation of Socrates with Ariſtodemus, who doubted of the exiſtence of God. Socrates makes him at firſt take notice of all the characters of deſign, of art, and of wiſdom that appear all over the Univerſe, and particularly in the mechaniſm of the human body. 'Do you believe, ſays he then to Ariſtodemus, 'can you believe that you are the only intelligent 'being? You know that you poſſeſs but a little par-'ticle of that matter which compoſes the world, a 'ſmall portion of that water which moiſtens it, a 'ſpark of that flame which animates it. Is under-'ſtanding peculiar to you alone? Have you ſo en-'groſſed and confined it to yourſelf, that it is to be 'found no where elſe? Does blind chance work 'every thing, and is there no ſuch thing as wiſdom 'beſides what you have?' Ariſtodemus having reply'd, that he did not ſee that wiſe Architect of the Univerſe; Socrates anſwers him. 'Neither do 'you ſee the ſoul which governs your own body, 'and regulates all its motions. You might as well 'conclude, that you do nothing yourſelf with de-'ſign and reaſon, as maintain that every thing is 'done by blind chance in the univerſe.' Ariſtodemus at length acknowledging a ſupreme Being, is ſtill in doubt as to Providence; not being able to comprehend how the Deity can ſee every thing at

[m] *Xen. Mem. Soc. Ed. Baſil.* 1579. *lib.* 1. *p.* 573.

once. Socrates replies, 'If the ſpirit that reſides 'in your body moves and diſpoſes it at its pleaſure; 'why ſhould not that ſovereign Wiſdom which 'preſides over the univerſe, be able likewiſe to re- 'gulate and order every thing as it pleaſes? If your 'eye can ſee objects at the diſtance of ſeveral fur- 'longs; why ſhould not the eye of God be able to 'ſee every thing at once? If your ſoul can think 'at the ſame time upon what is at Athens, in E- 'gypt, and in Sicily; why ſhould not the divine 'Mind be able to take care of every thing, being 'every where preſent to his work?' Socrates perceiving at laſt that the infidelity of Ariſtodemus did not ariſe ſo much from his reaſon as from his heart, concludes with theſe words: 'O Ariſtodemus, ap- 'ply yourſelf ſincerely to worſhip God; he will 'enlighten you, and all your doubts will ſoon be 'removed!'

Plato, a diſciple of Socrates, follows the ſame principles. He lived about the hundredth Olympiad, at a time when the doctrine of Democritus had made a great progreſs at Athens. The deſign of all his Theology is to give us noble ſentiments of the Deity, to ſhew us that ſouls were condemned to animate mortal bodies, only in order to expiate faults they had committed in a pre-exiſtent ſtate; and in fine, to teach that religion is the only way to reſtore us to our firſt glory and perfection. He deſpiſes all the tenets of the Athenian ſuperſtition, and endeavours to purge religion of them. The chief object of this Philoſopher is man in his immortal capacity: He ſpeaks of him in his politick one, only to ſhew that the ſhorteſt way to immortality is to diſcharge all the duties of civil and ſocial life for the pure love of virtue.

Plato in the beginning of his Timæus diſtinguiſhes between Being which is eternally, and being

which has been made [n]. And in another of his dialogues he defines God the efficient cause which makes things exist that had no being before [o]: A definition which shews that he had an idea of creation. Nor is it at all surprising that he should have this idea, since it implies no contradiction. In reality, when God creates, he does not draw a being out of nothing, as out of a subject upon which he works; but he makes something exist which did not exist before. The idea of infinite Power necessarily supposes that of being able to produce new substances, as well as new forms. To make a substance exist which did not exist before, has nothing in it more inconceivable than the making a form exist which was not before; for in both cases there is a new reality produced; and whatever difficulties there are in conceiving the passage from nothing to being, they are as puzzling in the one as in the other. As therefore it cannot be denied but that there is a moving power, though we do not conceive how it acts; so neither must we deny that there is a creating power, because we have not a clear idea of it.

To return to Plato. He first considers the Deity in his eternal solitude before the production of finite beings. He says frequently like the Egyptians, 'That this first source of Deity is surrounded 'with thick darkness, which no mortal can pene-'trate, and that this inaccessible God is to be a-'dored only by silence.' 'Tis this first Principle which he calls in several places the Being, the Unity, and the supreme Good [p]; the same in the in-

[n] Τί τὸ ὂν μὲν ἀεὶ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον· καὶ τί τὸ γιγνόμενον μὲν, ὂν δὲ οὐδέποτε.

[o] Ποιητικὴν πᾶσαν ἔφαμεν εἶναι δύναμιν ἥ τις ἂν αἰτία γίγνηται τοῖς μὴ πρότερον ὂσιν ὕστερον γίγνεσθαι. *Plat. Sophist. pag.* 185. *Ed. Franc.* 1602.

[p] *De Repub. lib.* 6. *pag.* 686.

telligent world, that the sun is in the visible world. He afterwards represents to us this first Being as sallying out of his Unity to consider all the various manners by which he might represent himself exteriorly; and thus the ideal world, comprehending the ideas of all things, and the truths which result thence, was formed in the divine Understanding. Plato always distinguishes between the supreme Good, and that Wisdom which is only an emanation from him. 'That which presents truth to the 'mind, says he, and that which gives us reason is 'the supreme Good. He is the cause and source 'of truth. [q] He hath begotten it like himself. As 'the light is not the sun, but an emanation from 'it; so truth is not the first Principle, but his ema-'nation.' And this is what he calls the Wisdom, or the *Logos*. And lastly, he considers the first Mover displaying his power to form real beings, resembling those archetypal ideas. He stiles him '[r] The 'Energy, or sovereign Architect who created the 'universe and the Gods, and who does whatsoever 'he pleases in heaven, on the earth, and in the 'shades below.' He calls him likewise, 'Psyche, 'or the soul which presides over the world, rather 'than the soul of the world;' to denote that this soul does not make a part of the universe, but animates it, and gives it all its forms and movements. Sometimes he considers the three divine attributes as three causes, at other times as three beings, and often as three Gods: But he affirms that they are all but one sole Divinity; that there is no essential difference between them; that the second is the image of the first, and the third of the second; that

[q] *De Repub. lib. 6. p. 687.* Τοῦτον τοίνυν φᾶναι με λέγειν τὸν τῦ ἀγαθῦ ἔκγονον ὃν τ'ἀγαθὸν ἐγέννησεν ἀνάλογον ἑαυτῷ

[r] *Plat. de Repub. lib. 10. p. 749.* Δημιουργὸς *and not* δημιουργέμενον ψυχὴ ὑπερκόσμιος, *and not* ἐγκόσμιος.

they

they are not three ſuns, but one; and that they differ only as the light, its rays, and the reflection of thoſe rays [r].

In other places, and eſpecially in the Timæus Locrus [t], Plato ſpeaks of three other Principles, which he calls, Ἰδέα, Ὕλη, Αἰσθητός: By the firſt he underſtands the archetypal ideas contained in the divine Intellect: By the ſecond, a primary matter, incorruptible, eternal, uniform, without figure or diviſion, but capable of receiving all forms and motions: By the third, the viſible univerſe, bounded, corruptible, conſiſting of various parts; and this he ſtiles the ſon, the effect, and the work of the idea as the primitive father, and of the Ὕλη as the univerſal mother of whatever exiſts. We ought never to confound theſe three principles of nature with the three forms of the Divinity, which he calls Agathos, Logos and Pſyche; the ſovereign Good, which is the principle of Deity, the Intellect which drew the plan of the world, and the Energy which executed it.

Tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe that Plato conſidered the Logos and the Pſyche, the Intellect and the Energy, not only as two attributes, but as two hypoſtaſes, or emanations from the divine Subſtance, it would not follow that the Chriſtians took their doctrine of the Trinity from him. He might owe this idea to the ancient traditions tranſmitted from the infant world, whence the Orientals, Chaldeans, Egyptians and Greeks originally drew their ſoundeſt notions in Divinity. The philoſophers of all nations ſeem to have had ſome idea, more or leſs confuſed, of a certain Triplicity in the ſupreme Unity [u].

[r] *See Cudworth Intell. Syſt. from p. 580. to p. 590.*
[t] *Tim. Loc. p.* 1089.
[u] *Plot. Enn. v. l.* 1. *See Cudworth's Intell. Syſt. from pag.* 570 *to pag.* 630.

Chriſtianity has only unfolded this ancient doctrine. It teaches us that in the divine Eſſence there is a triple diſtinction of Father, Son and Holy Spirit; that the actions of the one are not the actions of the other; that the Father exiſts of himſelf, independently, as the primitive ſource of Deity; that the Son comes forth from the Father by an incomprehenſible generation; and the Holy Spirit from both by an inconceivable proceſſion; and laſtly, that theſe two emanations from the Divinity are neceſſary, co-eternal, conſubſtantial, infinite, and in all things equal to the Father, his independence only excepted. The church has been pleaſed to expreſs this diſtinction by the word Perſons; to denote that this Trinity is not a mere diviſion of attributes, as the Sabellians hold; nor yet three different ſubſtances, as the Tritheiſts maintain. We have not a ſufficiently clear idea of the eternal Nature to be able to deny, but it may admit of ſuch a diſtinction. As to finite beings, indeed, the only diſtinction we know in them, is that of modes and ſubſtances; but is this a reaſon to deny the poſſibility of another in the infinite Eſſence? Ignorance may be a reaſon for doubting, but never for denying.

In order to ſilence the incredulous, and make this myſtery intelligible to them, a famous [x] Doctor of the Church of England, and, as I am aſſured, the greateſt Philoſopher [y] of modern times, believed that it would do no prejudice to the faith to conſider the three Perſons of the Trinity as three individual Agents, or three diſtinct Beings, though of the ſame ſubſtance. This opinion is as far above Arianiſm, as Arianiſm is above Socinianiſm. Fauſto-Socini maintained, that the Son had never any exiſtence before the incarnation. Arius held, that he was created or produced out of nothing like finite

[x] *Dr. Clarke.* [y] *Sir Iſaac Newton.*

beings,

beings, but yet from all eternity, that is, before all time. The learned Dr. Clarke maintains every where, that the Word is not a creature, but an emanation from the Father, co-eternal and consubstantial; that this emanation is as essential to the Deity as his veracity; that it is not possible for the Father to be without the Son, in any other sense than it is possible for God to lie[z]; and consequently that the Word is not a precarious being which God may annihilate.

I will not pretend to justify any inconsiderate expressions which may have dropt from the Doctor; we find such in the Fathers themselves: But charity, which thinks no evil, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things, will never insist upon the literal import of unguarded words, which are disavowed. It must nevertheless be granted that this doctrine, which is ascribed originally to Sir Isaac Newton, explains nothing, and only plunges us in new difficulties greater than the first. There may easily be many distinct beings of the same divisible and finite substance; but it is impossible to conceive three distinct beings of the infinite and indivisible substance, without destroying his nature, and discerpting the living and true God. Is it not better contentedly to join with all Christian antiquity, in saying, that there is a triple distinction, real, but incomprehensible in the Divinity, than to disturb the peace of the Church with defining the metaphysical nature of this distinction, by such ideas as lead to Tritheism, contrary to the intention of those who advance them? How easy are the most extensive genius's led astray, when they shake off the yoke of authority to give themselves up to their speculations? But to proceed.

[z] *Observations on Dr. Waterland's Queries, p. 75.*

Ariſtotle, Plato's diſciple, and prince of the peripatetick Philoſophers, calls God [a] 'The eternal and 'living Being, the moſt noble of all beings, a ſub'ſtance entirely diſtinct from matter, without exten'ſion, without diviſion, without parts, and without 'ſucceſſion;' who underſtands every thing by one 'ſingle act, and continuing himſelf immovable, gives 'motion to all things, and enjoys in himſelf a per'fect happineſs, as knowing and contemplating him'ſelf with infinite pleaſure.' In his metaphyſicks he lays it down for a principle, [b] 'That God is a ſu'preme Intelligence which acts with order, propor'tion and deſign; and is the ſource of all that is 'good, excellent and juſt.' In his treatiſe of the ſoul, he ſays, 'That the ſupreme Mind [c] is by its 'nature prior to all beings, that he has a ſovereign 'dominion over all.' And in other places he ſays, [d] 'That the firſt Principle is neither the fire, nor the 'earth, nor the water, nor any thing that is the ob'ject of ſenſe; but that a ſpiritual Subſtance is the 'cauſe of the univerſe, and the ſource of all the or'der and all the beauties, as well as of all the mo'tions and all the forms which we ſo much admire 'in it.' Theſe paſſages ſhew, that tho' Ariſtotle held matter to be eternal, he nevertheleſs conſidered it as a production of the divine Intellect, and poſterior in nature to it. He ſuppoſed the eternity of this production, becauſe he could not conceive how the divine Mind, being all act, and all energy, could ever be in a ſtate of inactivity. Beſides this firſt and eternal Subſtance, he acknowledges ſeveral other intelligent beings that preſide over the motions of the celeſtial ſpheres. 'There is, ſays he, but one only 'Mover, and ſeveral inferior Deities. [e] All that is

[a] *Ariſt. Ed. Paris* 1629. *Metaph. lib.* XIV. *cap.* 7. *p.* 1000.
[b] *Metaph. lib.* XIV. *cap.* 10. *p.* 1005. [c] *Id. de Anim. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. *p.* 628. [d] *Metaph. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. *&* 3. *p.* 844, 845. [e] *Met. lib.* XIV. *cap.* 8. *p.* 1003.

added,

'added about the human ſhape of theſe Deities, is 'nothing elſe but fiction, invented on purpoſe to in-'ſtruct the common people, and engage them to an 'obſervance of good laws. All muſt be reduced to 'one only primitive Subſtance, and to ſeveral infe-'rior ſubſtances, which govern in ſubordination to 'the firſt. This is the genuine doctrine of the an-'cients, which has happily eſcaped from the wreck 'of truth, amidſt the rocks of vulgar errors and po-'etick fables.'

Cicero lived in an age when corruption of manners and ſcepticiſm were at their height. The ſect of Epicurus had got the aſcendant at Rome over that of Pythagoras; and ſome of the greateſt men, when they were reaſoning about the divine Nature, thought fit to ſuſpend their judgment, and waver between the two opinions of a ſupreme Intelligence and a blind matter. Cicero, in his treatiſe of the nature of the Gods, pleads the cauſe of the academick philoſophers who doubted of every thing. It is however to be obſerved, that he refutes Epicurus with great force of reaſon in his firſt book, and that the objections which he makes in his third, as an academick, are much weaker than the proofs which he draws from the wonders that appear in nature, which he inſiſts on in his ſecond book, to demonſtrate the exiſtence of a ſupreme Intelligence.

In his other works, and particularly in his book of laws, he deſcribes the univerſe to us [f] 'as a re-'publick, of which Jupiter is the prince and com-'mon father. The great law imprinted in the hearts 'of all men is to love the publick good, and the 'members of the common ſociety as themſelves. 'This love of order is ſupreme juſtice, and this juſ-'tice is amiable for its own ſake. To love it only 'for the advantages it produces us, may be politick,

[f] *Cic. de Leg. Ed. Amſt.* 1661. *lib.* 1. *p.* 1188, —191, *&c.*

'but there's little of goodneſs in it. 'Tis the higheſt 'injuſtice to love juſtice only for the ſake of recom-'pence. In a word, the univerſal, immutable and 'eternal law of all intelligent beings, is to promote 'the happineſs of one another like children of the 'ſame father.' He next repreſents God to us as a ſovereign Wiſdom, from whoſe authority it is ſtill more impracticable for intelligent natures to with-draw themſelves than it is for corporeal ones. [g] 'Ac-'cording to the opinion of the wiſeſt and greateſt 'men, ſays this Philoſopher, the law is not an in-'vention of human underſtanding, or the arbitrary 'conſtitution of men, but flows from the eternal 'Reaſon that governs the univerſe. The rape which 'Tarquin committed upon Lucretia, continues he, 'was not leſs criminal in its nature, becauſe there 'was not at that time any written law at Rome 'againſt ſuch ſort of violences. The tyrant was 'guilty of a breach of the eternal law, the obliga-'tion whereof did not commence from the time it 'was written, but from the moment it was made. 'Now its origin is as ancient as the divine Intellect; 'for the true, the primitive, and the ſupreme law 'is nothing elſe but the ſovereign reaſon of the great 'Jove. This law, ſays he in another place [h], is uni-'verſal, eternal, immutable. It does not vary ac-'cording to times and places. It is not different 'now from what it was formerly. The ſame im-'mortal law is a rule to all nations, becauſe it has 'no author but the one only God who brought it 'forth and promulged it.' Such were the reaſonings of Cicero when he conſulted natural light, and was not carried away by a fondneſs of ſhewing his wit in defending the doctrine of the Scepticks.

To come at laſt to Seneca the Stoick. He was

[g] *Cic. de l. lib.* 2. *p.* 1194. [h] *Frag. of the repub. of Cicero preſerved by Lactantius lib.* VI. *c.* 8.

Nero's

Nero's tutor, and lived in an age when Chriſtianity was not in credit enough to engage the heathens to borrow any philoſophical principles from thence. 'i 'Tis of very little conſequence, ſays he, by what 'name you call the firſt Nature, and the divine Rea-'ſon that preſides over the univerſe, and fills all the 'parts of it. He is ſtill the ſame God. He is called 'Jupiter Stator, not as hiſtorians ſay, becauſe he 'ſtopped the Roman armies as they were flying, but 'becauſe he is the conſtant ſupport of all beings. 'They may call him Fate, becauſe he is the firſt 'cauſe on which all others depend. We Stoicks 'call him ſometimes Father Bacchus, becauſe he is 'the univerſal life that animates nature; Hercules, 'becauſe his power is invincible; Mercury, becauſe 'he is the eternal Reaſon, Order and Wiſdom. You 'may give him as many names as you pleaſe, pro-'vided you allow but one ſole Principle every where 'preſent.'

Agreeably to Plato's notions, he conſiders the divine Underſtanding as comprehending in it ſelf the model of all things, which he ſtiles the immutable and almighty ideas [k], 'Every workman, ſays he, 'hath a model by which he forms his work. It ſig-'nifies nothing whether this model exiſt outwardly 'and before his eyes, or be formed within him by 'the ſtrength of his own genius; ſo God produces 'within himſelf that perfect model, which is the 'proportion, the order and the beauty of all beings.' 'l The ancients, ſays he in another place, did not 'think Jove ſuch a being as we repreſent him in 'the capitol, and in our other buildings. But by 'Jove they meant the Guardian and Governor of the 'univerſe, the underſtanding and the mind, the 'Maſter and the Architect of this great machine. All 'names belong to him. You are not in the wrong

[i] *Senec. Edit. Ant. a Lipſio* 1632. *de Benef. lib.* IV. *p.* 311.
[k] *Senec. Epiſt.* 65. *p.* 493. [l] *Ibid. Natur. quæſt. lib.* 2. *p.* 715.

'if you call him Fate, for he is the cauſe of cauſes, 'and every thing depends on him. Would you call 'him Providence; you fall into no miſtake, 'tis by 'his wiſdom that this world is governed. Would 'you call him Nature; you will not offend in doing 'ſo, 'tis from him that all beings derive their origin, 'tis by him that they live and breathe.'

There is no reading the works of Epictetus, of Arrian his diſciple, and of Marcus Antoninus without admiration. We find in them rules of morality worthy of Chriſtianity; and yet thoſe diſciples of Zeno believed like their maſter, that there was but one Subſtance, that the ſupreme intelligent Being was material, and that his Eſſence was a pure æther which filled all by local diffuſion; that whatever was not extended was nothing; and in ſhort, that infinite extenſion was the ſame with the divine Immenſity. [m] The Platoniſts repreſented to them, that it was a groſs imagination to ſuppoſe that every thing which is, exiſts by local diffuſion; that were it ſo, the divine Eſſence would not be equally preſent every where; that there would be more of it in a great ſpace than in a little one; that it is abſurd to conceive that which is nothing but power, wiſdom and goodneſs, under the form of length, breadth and thickneſs; that all other beings exiſt in God, but that he exiſts only in himſelf; that immenſe ſpace is not the divine Immenſity, as time everlaſting is not the divine Eternity; that the Immenſity of God is the manner of his exiſting in himſelf without extenſion of parts, as his Eternity is the manner of his exiſting in himſelf without ſucceſſion of thoughts; that ſpace is but the manner wherein bodies exiſt in him, as time is but the manner in which finite beings exiſt with him; that the one meaſures the bounds of the parts, and the other the variation of

[m] *Plat. Tim. & de leg. lib.* x. *Ariſt. de anim. lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. *Porphyr. p.* 230.

the

the modes; that we ſhould have no idea of local extenſion if there were no bodies, as we ſhould have no idea of ſucceſſive duration if there were no changes; and laſtly, that indefinite unbounded extenſion is not immenſe in all ſenſes, as it is not infinite in all reſpects: But that God is immenſe in all ſenſes, as he is in all reſpects infinite.

It was thus that the Pagan philoſophers talked of the divine Immenſity before the riſe of ſcholaſtick theology. The obſcurity of our reaſonings on this matter proceeds from our want of a clear idea of ſubſtances: We neither know nor diſtinguiſh them but by their properties; otherwiſe we ſhould ſee that the ſupreme Unity may exiſt every where without extenſion of parts, as he exiſts for ever without ſucceſſion of thoughts; that he is all in all places, as he beholds all beings with one glance. The reaſon of our not having a clear idea of the divine Immenſity, is our not having an adequate idea of Infinity; we aſcribe to him certain properties, becauſe we ſee that they are contained in the idea we have of him; but we are obliged at the ſame time, in order to avoid abſurdities, to give him other attributes which we do not comprehend. Thus in geometry we admit the infinite diviſibility of matter, and the doctrine of aſymptotes which follows from it, without having a clear idea of either of them.

But after all, the materialiſm of the Stoicks does not evince that they were Atheiſts; a falſe notion about the Deity being far from proving that they believed none at all. What conſtitutes an Atheiſt, is not the maintaining with the Orientals, that matter is an expanſion of the divine Subſtance; nor with the Stoicks, that the infinite Eſſence is a pure æther; nor with the Platoniſts, that the univerſe is an eternal production of the Deity; but real Atheiſm conſiſts in denying that there is a ſupreme Intelligence, who made the world by his power, and governs it by his wiſdom. For

For our fuller ſatisfaction, with regard to the theology of the heathens, let us ſee what the fathers of the church thought of it. They had ſufficient opportunities of knowing it thoroughly, by the frequent diſputes which they held with them. As this is a matter of a very nice nature, it may be dangerous to indulge any thing to ones own conjectures; let us have recourſe to wiſe antiquity. Arnobius [n] introduces the heathens complaining of the injuſtice of the Chriſtians. 'Tis a mere calumny, ſay thoſe 'heathens, to charge us with ſuch a crime, as the 'denying of a ſupreme God. We call him Jove, 'the ſupremely great and ſovereignly good; we de-'dicate our moſt magnificent ſtructures and our capi-'tols to him, to ſhew that we exalt him above all 'other Deities. [o] St. Peter in his preaching at 'Athens, ſays St. Clement of Alexandria [p], inſinuates 'that the Greeks had a knowledge of the Deity. He 'ſuppoſes that thoſe people adore the ſame God as 'we do, though not in the ſame manner. He does 'not forbid us to adore the ſame God as the Greeks, 'but he forbids us to adore him after the ſame way. 'He orders us to change the manner, and not the 'object of our worſhip.' 'The heathens, ſays Lactantius [q], 'who admit ſeveral Gods, ſay nevertheleſs that thoſe ſubordinate Deities, though they 'preſide over all the various parts of the univerſe, 'do it in ſuch a manner, as that there is ſtill but one 'ſole Ruler and ſupreme Governor. From whence 'it follows, that all other inviſible powers are not 'properly Gods, but miniſters or deputies of the 'one great and almighty God, who appointed them 'executors of his will and pleaſure.' Euſebius of Ceſarea goes farther. '[r] The heathens own that 'there is but one only God, who fills, pervades and

[n] *Arnob. lib.* 1. *p.* 19. [o] *An apocryphal book which then paſs'd under the name of St. Peter's.* [p] *Strom. l.* 6. *p.*635.
[q] *Lib.* 1. *p.* 16. [r] *Præp. Evang. l.* 3. *cap.* 13. *p.* 105.

'preſides

'preſides over univerſal nature; but they maintain, 'that as he is preſent to his work only in an incor- 'poreal and inviſible manner, they are therefore in 'the right to worſhip him in his viſible and corpo- 'real effects.' I ſhall conclude with a famous paſ- ſage of St. Auſtin, who reduces the Polytheiſm of the heathens to the unity of one ſole Principle. '[f] Jupiter, ſays this father, is, according to the phi- 'loſophers, the ſoul of the world, who takes diffe- 'rent names according to the different effects which 'he produces. In the ethereal ſpaces he is called 'Jupiter, in the air Juno, in the ſea Neptune, in 'the earth Pluto, in hell Proſerpina, in the element 'of fire Vulcan, in the ſun Phœbus, in divination 'Apollo, in war Mars, in the vintage Bacchus, in 'the harveſt Ceres, in the foreſts Diana, and in the 'ſciences Minerva. All that crowd of Gods and 'Goddeſſes are only the ſame Jupiter, whoſe diffe- 'rent powers and attributes are expreſs'd by diffe- 'rent names.' It is therefore evident by the teſti- mony of profane poets, heathen philoſophers, and fathers of the church, that the Pagans acknowledged one ſole ſupreme Deity. The Orientals, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, and all nations agreed uni- verſally in teaching this truth.

About the fiftieth Olympiad, ſix hundred years before the Chriſtian æra, the Greeks having loſt the traditional knowledge of the Orientals, began to lay aſide the doctrine of the ancients, and to reaſon about the divine Nature from prejudices which their ſenſes and imagination ſuggeſted. 1. Anaximander lived at that time, and was the firſt who ſet himſelf to de- ſtroy the belief of a ſupreme Intelligence, in order to account for every thing by the action of blind matter, which by neceſſity aſſumes all ſorts of forms. He was followed by Leucippus, Democitus, Epicurus,

[f] *S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 11.*

Strato,

Strato, Lucretius, and all the ſchool of the atomical philoſophers. 2. Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Ariſtotle, and all the great men of Greece oppoſed this impious doctrine, and endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh the ancient theology of the Orientals. Theſe philoſophers of a ſuperior genius obſerving in nature motion, thought and deſign, and the idea of matter including none of theſe three properties; they inferred from thence, that there was in nature another ſubſtance beſides matter. Greece being thus divided into two ſects, they diſputed for a long time, without either party being convinced. 3. At length about the 120th Olympiad, Pyrrho formed a third ſect, whoſe great principle was to doubt of every thing, and determine nothing. All the Atomiſts who had laboured in vain to find out a demonſtration of their falſe principles, preſently ſtruck in with the Pyrrhonian ſect. They ran wildly into an univerſal doubting, and carried it almoſt to ſuch an exceſs of frenzy, that they doubted of the cleareſt and moſt palpable truths. They maintained without any allegory, that every thing we ſee is only an illuſion, and that the whole ſeries of life is but a perpetual dream, of which thoſe in the night are only ſo many images. 4. At laſt Zeno ſet up a fourth ſchool about the 130th Olympiad. This Philoſopher endeavoured to reconcile the diſciples of Democritus with thoſe of Plato, by maintaining that the firſt Principle was indeed an infinite Wiſdom, but that his Eſſence was only a pure æther, or a ſubtile light, which diffus'd itſelf every where, to give life, motion and reaſon to all beings.

It is plain then that there were four ſorts of philoſophers among the ancients; the Atheiſts or Atomiſts, the Spiritualiſts or Theiſts, the Materialiſts or Stoicks, the Pyrrhonians or Academicks. In theſe laſt ages the modern Free-thinkers have only revived the ancient errors, diſguiſing them under new terms.

1. Jordano

1. Jordano Bruno, Vannini, and Spinoza have vamped up the monſtrous ſyſtem of Anaximander; and have added only ſome artful diſtinctions to impoſe upon weak minds. Spinoza perceiving clearly that thought could not be an effect of matter, endeavoured to prevent all objections againſt the Materialiſts, by maintaining, that [t] extenſion and thought are properties of the ſame ſubſtance; that the ideas of objects are really nothing different from the objects themſelves [u]; that extenſion and matter are the ſame [x]; that infinite ſpace is the immenſity of God, as infinite time is his eternity [y]; and conſequently, that all eſſences are but different forms of the ſame ſubſtance [z]. It muſt nevertheleſs be granted, that his Atheiſm does not conſiſt in theſe errors, ſince they have all been maintained by philoſophers who had a ſincere abhorrence of impiety. Spinoza's Atheiſm lies wholly in this, that he makes the one only Subſtance, for which he contends, to act without knowledge or deſign. 2. Deſcartes, Malebranche, Poiret, Leibnitz, Sir Iſaac Newton, Dr. Bentley, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Cheyne, and ſeveral philoſophers of a genius equally ſubtile and profound, have endeavoured to refute theſe errors, and brought arguments to ſupport the ancient theology. Beſides the proofs which are drawn from the effects, they have inſiſted on others drawn from the idea of the firſt cauſe. They ſhew plainly, that the reaſons for believing are infinitely ſtronger than thoſe for doubting; and that it is abſurd to deny what we ſee clearly, becauſe we do not ſee farther. 3. Mr. Hobbes, and ſome philoſophers of more faith, Behmen, and ſeveral cabaliſtical writers, have revived the errors of the Stoicks, and pretend that extenſion is the baſis of all ſub-

[t] *Locke of Hum. Under p. 456.* [u] *Barclay's Dialogues.*
[x] *Deſcartes and Malebranche.* [y] *Dr. Clarke's Letters to Leibnitz, p. 77, 129.* [z] *The Orientals and Semi-cabaliſtical writers.*

ſtances

ſtances; that the ſoul differs from the body only as being more ſubtiliz'd; that a ſpirit is but a rarify'd body, and a body a condens'd ſpirit; and laſtly, that the infinite Being, though indiviſible, is extended by local diffuſion. 4. To conclude, there are ſome ſuperficial minds, who not being able to look upon truth with a ſteady view, nor to weigh the degrees of evidence, nor to compare the force of proofs with that of objections, perſuade themſelves that the mind of man is not formed for the knowledge of truth, run headlong into an univerſal doubting, and fall at length into a ſenſeleſs kind of Pyrrhoniſm, called Egomiſm, where every one fancies himſelf to be the only being that exiſts. The hiſtory of former times is like that of our own: Human underſtanding takes almoſt the ſame forms in different ages, and loſes its way in the ſame labyrinths; there are periodical diſeaſes of the mind as well as of the body.

PART II.

Of the MYTHOLOGY *of the* PAGANS.

MEN left to the light of their reaſon alone, have always looked upon moral and phyſical evil as a ſhocking phænomenon in the work of a Being infinitely wiſe, good and powerful. To account for it, the philoſophers have had recourſe to ſeveral hypotheſes. Reaſon told them all, that what is ſupremely good could never produce any thing that was wicked or miſerable. From hence they concluded, that ſouls are not now what they were at firſt; that they are degraded, for ſome fault committed by them in a former ſtate; that this life is a ſtate of exile and expiation; and in a word, that

all

all beings are to be reſtored to their proper order. Tradition ſtruck in with reaſon, and this tradition had ſpread over all nations certain opinions which they held in common, with regard to the three ſtates of the world, as I ſhall ſhew in this ſecond part, which will be a ſort of abridgment of the traditional doctrine of the ancients.

I begin with the Mythology of the Greeks and Romans. All the Poets, ſpeaking of the golden age, or reign of Saturn, deſcribe it to us as an happy ſtate, in which there were neither calamities, nor crimes, nor labour, nor pains, nor diſeaſes, nor death [a]. They repreſent, on the contrary, the iron age, as the time when phyſical and moral evil firſt appeared; then it was that vices, ſufferings, and all manner of evils came forth of Pandora's box, and over-flowed the face of the earth [b]. They ſpeak to us of the golden age renewed, as of a time when Aſtræa was to return upon earth; when juſtice, peace and innocence were to flouriſh again with their original luſtre; and when every thing was to be reſtored to its primitive perfection [c]. In a word, they ſing on all occaſions the exploits of a ſon of Jupiter, who was to quit his heavenly abode and live among men. They give him different names, according to his different functions; ſometimes he is Apollo, fighting againſt Python and the Titans; ſometimes he is Hercules, deſtroying monſters and giants, and purging the earth of their enormities and crimes: One while he is Mercury, or the meſſenger of Jove, flying about every where to execute his decrees; and another while he is Perſeus,

[a] *See Heſiod. de ſæcul. aureo. Orpheus apud Proclum Theol. Plat. lib. 5. cap.* 10. *Lucret. lib. 5. Ovid. Metam. lib.* 1. *fab.* 3. *Virg. Georg. lib.* 2. *lin.* 336.

[b] *Ovid. Met. lib.* 1. *fab.* 4, 5, *&* 6. *Virg. Georg. lib.* 1. *lin.* 126. *Juv. Satir.* 6.

[c] *Virg. Ecl.* 4. *Senec. Trag. Oedip. Act.* 2.

delivering

delivering Andromeda or human nature, from the monſter that roſe out of the great deep to devour her. He is always ſome ſon of Jupiter, giving battles, and gaining victories. I will not inſiſt upon theſe poetical deſcriptions, becauſe they may perhaps be looked upon as mere fictions, and a machinery introduced to embelliſh a poem, and amuſe the mind. Allegorical explications are liable to uncertainty and miſtake: So that I ſhall go on directly to repreſent the doctrine of the philoſophers, particularly that of Plato, which is the ſource from whence Plotinus, Proclus, and the Platoniſts of the third century drew their principal notions.

To begin with the dialogue of Phædo, or of immortality, and give a ſhort analyſis of it: Phædo gives his friend an account of the condition in which he ſaw Socrates at the time of his death. 'He quitted life, ſays he, 'with a ſerene joy, and a noble intrepidi-'ty.' His friends asking him the reaſon of it, 'I 'hope, ſays Socrates in his anſwer, to be re-united 'to the good and perfect Gods, and to be aſſociated 'with better men than thoſe I leave upon earth [d].' When Cebes objects to him that the ſoul vaniſhes after death like a ſmoke, and is entirely annihilated, Socrates ſets himſelf to refute that opinion, and endeavours to prove that the ſoul had a real exiſtence [e] in an happy ſtate, before it informed an human body. This doctrine he aſcribes to Orpheus [f]. 'The diſciples of Orpheus, ſays he, called the body 'a priſon, becauſe the ſoul is here in a ſtate of 'puniſhment till it has expiated the faults that it 'committed in heaven. Souls, continued Plato, 'that are too much given to bodily pleaſures, and 'are in a manner beſotted, wander upon the earth, 'and are put into new bodies; [g] for all ſenſuality

[d] *P.* 48. 11. [e] *P.* 57. [f] *Plat. Cratyl. p.* 1276.
[g] *Phæd. p.* 61, 62, 63.

'and

'and paſſion cauſe the ſoul to have a ſtronger attachment to the body, make her fancy that ſhe is 'of the ſame nature, and render her in a manner 'corporeal; ſo that ſhe contracts an incapacity of 'flying away into another life. Being oppreſſed 'with the weight of her impurity and corruption, 'ſhe ſinks again into matter, and becomes thereby 'diſabled to remount towards the regions of purity, 'and attain to a re-union with her Principle.

Upon this foundation is built the doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which Plato repreſents in the ſecond Timæus as an allegory, and at other times as a thing real, where ſouls that have made themſelves unworthy of the ſupreme Beatitude, ſojourn and ſuffer ſucceſſively in the bodies of different animals, till at laſt they are purged of their crimes, by the pains they undergo. This hath made ſome philoſophers believe that the ſouls of beaſts are degraded ſpirits. A very ancient doctrine, and common to all the Aſiaticks, from whom Pythagoras and Plato derived it; but the poets had much debaſed it by their fictions. They ſuppoſed that there was an univerſal and eternal metempſycoſis; that all ſpirits were ſubject to it, without ever arriving at any fixed ſtate. The philoſophers, on the contrary, believed that none but depraved ſouls were deſtin'd to ſuch a tranſmigration, and that it would one day be at an end, when they were purified from their crimes [b].

The Pythagoreans and Platoniſts not being able to perſuade themſelves that the brutes were abſolutely inſenſible of pleaſure and pain, for that matter was capable of ſenſation and conſciouſneſs, or that the Divine Juſtice could inflict ſufferings on intelligences that had never offended, thought the doctrine of tranſmigration leſs abſurd than that of

[b] *See Cudw. Intel. Syſtem. p.* 314.

mere machines, material ſouls, or pure intelligences, formed only to animate the bodies of beaſts.

The firſt of theſe opinions is altogether contrary to experience; and though we may by general and ingenious hypotheſes throw a miſt before our eyes, yet whenever we examine nicely into all appearances of ſenſation diſcernible in beaſts, we can never ſeriouſly doubt of it. I do not ſay the appearances of reflection, but of ſenſation; I am not unaware that in our own bodies we have frequent motions of which we are not conſcious, and which nevertheleſs ſeem to be the effect of the moſt exact and geometrical reaſoning. I ſpeak therefore of the marks of pleaſure and pain which we obſerve in the brutes; and I think that we can have no pretence to reject ſuch evidence, unleſs it be that we don't feel what happens to them; but then, for the ſame reaſon, we might believe, that all other men are machines. The ſecond opinion, which is that of material ſouls, held by the Peripateticks, tends to deſtroy all the proofs of the immateriality of our ſpirits. If matter be capable of ſenſation, it may likewiſe be capable of reflecting upon its own ſenſations, and the Materialiſts will gain their point. The third opinion deſtroys all our ſoundeſt notions of the Deity, by ſuppoſing that God can create beings which ſhall be immediately unhappy, without any previous demerit on their part, degrade pure intelligences without any reaſon, and when they for a while acted in mortal bodies a part much below the dignity of their nature, reduce them again to nothing.

I will venture to ſay, that the doctrine of tranſmigration is leſs repugnant not only to reaſon and experience, but likewiſe to religion, than either of the other three. We ſee in the [1] ſacred Oracles that

[1] *St. Luke, chap. viii.*

impure

impure ſpirits may deſire ſometimes to enter into the bodies of the vileſt animals. After all, a true philoſopher will be prudently ſceptical, with regard to all uncertain conjectures. The only uſe which I would make of what has been above advanced, is to ſhew the incredulous that they ſay nothing to the purpoſe againſt us, when they maintain that our ſouls die like thoſe of the brutes; and further, that the fictions of the ancients, how abſurd ſoever they at firſt appear, are often more defenſible than the ſyſtems of the moderns, which are ſo much admired for a depth of penetration.

To return to Plato. 'Pure ſouls, adds he in his Phædo, 'that have exerted themſelves here below 'to get the better of all corruption, and free them-'ſelves from the impurities of their terreſtrial pri-'ſon, retire after death into an inviſible place, un-'known to us, where the pure unites with the 'pure, the good cleaves to its like, and our im-'mortal eſſence is united to the divine.' He calls this place the firſt earth, where ſouls made their abode before their degradation. 'The earth, ſays he, 'is immenſe; we know and we inhabit only a 'ſmall corner of it [k]. That ethereal earth, the an-'cient abode of ſouls, is placed in the pure regions 'of heaven, where the ſtars are ſeated. We that 'live in this low abyſs, are apt enough to fancy that 'we are in an high place, and we call the air the 'heavens; juſt like a man that from the bottom of 'the ſea ſhould view the ſun and ſtars through the 'water, and fancy the ocean to be the firmament 'itſelf. But if we had wings to mount on high, 'we ſhould ſee that THERE is the true heaven, the 'true light, and the true earth. As in the ſea every 'thing is altered, and disfigured by the ſalts that 'abound in it; ſo in our preſent earth every thing

[k] *P.* 81.

'is

'is deformed, corrupted, and in a ruinous condi-
'tion, if compared with the primitive earth.'
Plato gives afterwards a pompous deſcription of that ethereal earth, of which ours is only a broken cruſt. He ſays [l], that 'every thing there was beautiful,
'harmonious and tranſparent; fruits of an exqui-
'ſite taſte grew there naturally; and it was watered
'with rivers of nectar. They there breathed the
'light, as we here breathe the air, and they drank
'waters which were purer than air itſelf.' This notion of Plato agrees in a great meaſure with that of Deſcartes, about the nature of the planets; this modern philoſopher was of opinion that they were at firſt ſuns, which contracted afterwards a thick and opake cruſt.

This ſame doctrine of Plato is likewiſe clearly explained in his Timæus [m]. There he tells us how Solon in his travels diſcourſed with an Egyptian prieſt about the antiquity of the world, its origin, and the revolutions which had happened in it according to the Mythology of the Greeks. Upon which the Egyptian prieſt ſays to him, 'O Solon,
'you Greeks are always children, and you never
'come to an age of maturity; your underſtanding
'is young, and has no true knowledge of antiquity.
'There have been upon earth ſeveral deluges and
'conflagrations, cauſed by changes in the motion
'of the heavenly bodies. Your hiſtory of Phaeton,
'whatever air it has of a fable, is nevertheleſs not
'without a real foundation. We Egyptians have
'preſerved the memory of theſe facts in our monu-
'ments and temples; whereas it is but a very little
'while that the Greeks have had any knowledge
'of letters, of the muſes, and of the ſciences.'
This diſcourſe puts Timæus upon explaining to Socrates the origin of things, and the primitive ſtate

[l] *P.* 82. [m] *Tim. p.* 1043.

of

of the world. 'n Whatever has been produced, 'says he, has been produced by some cause. 'Tis 'no easy matter to know the nature of this Maker, 'and Father of the universe; and though you 'should discover it, it would be impossible for you 'to make the vulgar comprehend it. This Archi-'tect of the world, continues he, had a model by 'which he produced every thing, and this model is 'Himself. As he is good, and what is good has 'not the least tincture of envy, he made all things, 'as far as was possible, like Himself. He made the 'world perfect in the whole of its constitution, per-'fect too in all the various parts that compose it, 'which were subject neither to diseases, nor to de-'cay of age. The Father of all things beholding 'this beautiful image of Himself, took a compla-'cency in his work, and this complacency raised in 'him a desire of improving it to a nearer likeness to 'its model.

In the dialogue which bears the title of Politicus, Plato mentioning this primitive state of the world, calls it the reign of Saturn, and describes it in this manner. 'o God was then the Prince and common 'Father of all; he governed the world by himself, 'as he governs it now by inferior Deities: Rage 'and cruelty did not then prevail upon earth; war 'and sedition were not so much as known. God 'himself took care of the sustenance of mankind, 'and was their Guardian and Shepherd: There 'were no magistrates nor civil polity as there are 'now. In those happy days men sprung out of the 'bosom of the earth, which produced them of it 'self, like flowers and trees. The fertile fields 'yielded fruits and corn without the labour of til-'lage. Mankind stood in no need of raiment to 'cover their bodies, being troubled with no incle-

n P. 1047. o Pag. 537, 538.

'mency of the ſeaſons; and they took their reſt 'upon beds of turf of a perpetual verdure. Under 'the reign of Jupiter, Saturn, the maſter of the 'univerſe, having quitted as it were the reins of 'his empire, hid himſelf in an inacceſſible retreat. 'The inferior Gods who governed under him re-'tired likewiſe; the very foundations of the world 'were ſhaken by motions contrary to its principle 'and its end, and it loſt its beauty and its luſtre. 'Then it was that good and evil were blended to-'gether. But in the end, leſt the world ſhould be 'plunged in an eternal abyſs of confuſion, God, the 'author of the primitive order, will appear again and 'reſume the reins of empire. Then he will change, 'amend, embelliſh and reſtore the whole frame of 'nature, and put an end to decay of age, to diſeaſes 'and death.'

In the dialogue under the title of Phœdrus, Plato more diſtinctly unfolds the ſecret cauſes of moral evil, which brought in phyſical evil. 'p There are 'in every one of us, ſays he, two principal ſprings 'of action, the deſire of pleaſure, and the love of 'virtue, which are the wings of the ſoul. When 'theſe wings are parted, when the love of pleaſure 'and the love of virtue carry us contrary ways, 'then ſouls fall down into mortal bodies.' Let us ſee here his notion of the pleaſures which ſpirits taſte in heaven, and of the manner how ſouls fell from the happy ſtate which they enjoyed there. 'q The 'great Jupiter, ſays he, animating his winged cha-'riot, marches firſt, followed by all the inferior 'Gods and Genii; thus they traverſe the heavens, 'admiring the infinite wonders thereof. But when 'they go to the great banquet, they raiſe them-'ſelves to the top of heaven, and mount above the 'ſpheres. None of our poets ever yet ſung, or can

p *Pag.* 1216. q *Pag.* 1222.

'ſing

'ſing that ſuper-celeſtial place. [r] It is there that 'ſouls contemplate with the eyes of the underſtand-'ing the truly exiſting Eſſence, which has neither 'colour, nor figure, nor is the object of any ſenſe, 'but is purely intelligible. There they ſee virtue, 'truth and juſtice not as they are here below, but 'as they exiſt in him who is Being itſelf. There 'they ſatiate themſelves with that ſight till they are 'no longer able to bear the glory of it, and then 'they return back to heaven, where they feed again 'on nectar and ambroſia. Such is the life of the 'Gods. Now, continues Plato, [s] every ſoul which 'follows God faithfully into that ſuper-celeſtial 'place, preſerves itſelf pure and without blemiſh; 'but if it takes up with nectar and ambroſia, and 'does not attend on Jupiter's chariot to go and 'contemplate truth, it grows heavy and ſluggiſh, it 'breaks its wings, it falls upon the earth, and en-'ters into a human body more or leſs vile, accord-'ing as it has been more or leſs elevated. Souls 'leſs degraded than others dwell in the bodies of 'philoſophers. The moſt deſpicable of all animate 'the bodies of tyrants and evil princes. Their con-'dition alters after death, and becomes more or 'leſs happy, according as they have loved virtue or 'vice in their life time. After ten thouſand years 'ſouls will be re-united to their origin. During 'that ſpace of time their wings grow again and are 'renewed [t].'

Such was the doctrine which Plato oppoſed to the profane ſect of Democritus and Epicurus, who denied an eternal Providence on account of the phyſical and moral evil which they ſaw in the world. This Philoſopher gives us a fine deſcription of the

[r] Τὸν ὑπερουράνιον τόπον. [s] *Pag.* 1223.

[t] *This doctrine of Plato's, concerning the fall and reſtoration of ſouls, is explained by Macrobius in his commentary on Scipio's dream, chap. ii.* 12, 13.

univerſe: He conſiders it as an immenſity filled with free ſpirits, which inhabit and inform innumerable worlds. Theſe ſpirits are qualified to enjoy a double felicity; the one conſiſting in the contemplation of the divine Eſſence, the other in admiring his works. When ſouls no longer make their felicity conſiſt in the knowledge of truth, and when lower pleaſures turn them off from the love of the ſupreme Eſſence, they are thrown down into ſome planet, there to undergo expiatory puniſhments till they are cured by their ſufferings. Theſe planets are conſequently, according to Plato's notion, like hoſpitals or [u] places inſtituted for the cure of diſtempered intelligences. Such is the inviolable law eſtabliſhed [x] for the preſervation of order in the celeſtial ſpheres. This double employment of the heavenly ſpirits is one of the ſublimeſt notions of Plato, and ſhews the wonderful depth of his genius. It was the ſyſtem adopted by the heathen philoſophers, whenever they attempted to explain to us the origin of evil; and thus they reaſon. If ſouls could without intermiſſion contemplate the divine Eſſence by a direct view, they would be impeccable, the ſight of the ſupreme Good neceſſarily engaging all the love of the will. To explain therefore the fall of ſpirits, they are forced to ſuppoſe an interval, when the ſoul withdraws from the divine Preſence, and quits the ſuper-celeſtial abode, in order to admire the beauties of nature, and entertain herſelf with ambroſia, as a food leſs delicate, and more ſuitable to a finite being. 'Tis in theſe intervals that ſhe becomes falſe to her duty.

Pythagoras had learned the ſame doctrine among the Egyptians. We have ſtill a very valuable monument of it left in the commentary of Hierocles upon the golden verſes aſcribed to that Philoſo-

[u] Νοσοκομεῖα. [x] Θεσμὸς Ἀδραστείας.

pher.

pher. 'y As our alienation from God, says this au-
'thor, and the loss of the wings which used to
'raise us up to heavenly things, have thrown us
'down into this region of death which is over-run
'with all manner of evils; so the stripping our
'selves of earthly affections, and the revival of
'virtues in us make our wings grow again, and
'raise us up to the mansions of life, where true
'good is to be found without any mixture of evil.
'The essence of man being in the middle between
'beings that contemplate God without ceasing, and
'such as are not able to contemplate him at all, he
'has it in his power to raise himself up towards the
'one, or sink down towards the other.' 'z The
'wicked man, says Hierocles in another place, does
'not care that the soul should be immortal, for fear
'he should live after death only to suffer punish-
'ment. But the judges of the shades below, as they
'form their judgment upon the rules of truth, do
'not decree, that the soul should exist no longer,
'but that it should be no longer vicious. Their
'business is to correct and cure it, by prescribing
'punishments for the health of nature, just as phy-
'sicians heal the most inveterate ulcers by incisions.
'These judges punish the crime in order to extir-
'pate vice. They do not annihilate the essence of
'the soul, but bring it back to its true and ge-
'nuine existence, purifying it from all the passions
'that corrupt it. And therefore when we have sin-
'ned,' we should be glad to embrace the punishment
'as the only remedy for vice.'

'Tis therefore evidently the doctrine of the most famous Greek philosophers, 1. That souls had a pre-existence in heaven. 2. That the Jupiter who marched at the head of souls before the loss of their

y *Hierocl. Comm. in aurea Carm. p.* 187. *Edit. Cant.* 1709.
z *Ibid. Carm. p.* 120.

wings, is distinct from the supreme Essence, and is very like the Mythras of the Persians, and the Orus of the Egyptians. 3. That souls lost their wings, and were thrust down into mortal bodies, because that instead of following Jupiter's chariot, they gave themselves too much up to the enjoyment of lower pleasures. 4. That at the end of a certain period of time, the wings of the soul shall grow again, and Saturn shall resume the reins of his empire in order to restore the universe to its original splendor.

Let us now examine the Egyptian Mythology, the source from whence that of the Greeks was derived. I shall not offer to maintain the mystical explications that Kircher gives of the famous table of Isis, and of the obelisks that are to be seen at Rome: I confine my self to Plutarch, who has preserved us an admirable monument of that Mythology. To represent it in its real beauties, it will be proper to give a short and clear analysis of his treatise of Isis and Osiris, which is a letter written to Clea, priestess of Isis. 'a The Egyptian Mythology, says Plu-'tarch, has two senses, the one sacred and sublime, 'the other sensible and palpable. 'Tis for this rea-'son that the Egyptians put Sphinxes before the 'door of their temples; designing thereby to sig-'nify to us that their Theology contains the secrets 'of wisdom under enigmatical words. This is also 'the sense of the inscription upon a statue of Pallas 'or Isis at Sais, I AM ALL THAT IS, HAS BEEN, 'AND SHALL BE, AND NO MORTAL HAS EVER 'YET REMOVED THE VEIL THAT COVERS ME.' 'b He afterwards relates the Egyptian fable of Isis 'and Osiris. They were both born of Rhea and the 'Sun; whilst they were still in their mother's 'womb, they jointly ingendred the God Orus, the

[a] *Pag.* 354. [b] *Pag.* 365.

[1] living

'living image of their ſubſtance. Typhon was not 'born, but burſt violently through the ribs of Rhea. 'He afterwards revolted againſt Oſiris, filled the 'univerſe with his rage and violence, tore the bo-'dy of his brother in pieces, mangled his limbs, 'and ſcattered them about. Ever ſince that time 'Iſis goes wandering about the earth to gather up the 'ſcattered limbs of her brother and husband. The 'eternal and immortal ſoul of Oſiris led his ſon O-'rus to the ſhades below, where he gave him in-'ſtructions how to fight, and vanquiſh Typhon. 'Orus returned upon earth, fought and defeated 'Typhon, but did not kill him; he only bound 'him, and took away his power of doing miſchief. 'The wicked one made his eſcape afterwards, and 'was going to throw all again into diſorder: But 'Orus fought him in two bloody battels, and de-'ſtroyed him entirely.' Plutarch goes on thus; '[c] Whoever applieth theſe allegories to the divine 'Nature, ever bleſſed and immortal, deſerves to 'be treated with contempt. We muſt not how-'ever believe that they are mere fables without any 'meaning, like thoſe of the poets. They repreſent 'to us things that really happen'd. It would be 'likewiſe a dangerous error, and manifeſt impiety 'to interpret what is ſaid of the Gods, as Eveme-'rus the Meſſenian did, and apply it to the ancient 'kings and great generals. This would in the end 'ſerve to deſtroy religion, and eſtrange men from 'the Deity.' '[d] There are others, adds he, much 'juſter in their notions, who have wrote, that 'whatever is related of Typhon, Oſiris, Iſis and 'Orus muſt be underſtood of genii and dæmons. '[e] This was the opinion of Pythagoras, Plato, Xe-'nocrates and Chryſippus, who followed the anci-'ent Theologiſts in this notion. All thoſe great

[c] *Pag.* 358. [d] *Ibid.* [e] *Pag.* 360.

'men maintained that these genii were very powerful, and far superior to mortals; that they did 'not however partake of the Deity in a pure and 'simple manner, but were composed of a spiritual 'and a corporeal nature, and were consequently 'capable of pleasures and pains, passions and changes; 'for there are virtues and vices among the genii as 'well as among men. Hence come the fables of 'the Greeks concerning the Titans and Giants, 'the engagements of Python against Apollo, and 'the furies and extravagances of Bacchus, with several other fictions like those of Osiris and Typhon. Hence it is likewise that Homer speaks of 'good and evil dæmons. Plato calls the first tutelary Deities, because they are mediators between 'the Deity and men, carry up the prayers of mortals to heaven, and bring us from thence the 'knowledge and revelation of secret and future 'things.' "[f] Empedocles, continues he, says, 'that the evil dæmons are punished for the faults 'they have committed. First the sun precipitates 'them into the air; the air casts them into the 'deep sea; the sea vomits them up upon the land, 'and from the earth they are raised at last to heaven. Thus are they transported from one place 'to another, till being in the end punished and purified, they return to the place adapted to their 'nature.' Plutarch, after having thus given a theological explanation of the Egyptian allegories, gives likewise the physical explications of them; but he rejects them all, and returns to his first doctrine. '[g] Osiris is neither the sun, nor the water, nor the 'earth, nor the heaven; but whatever there is in 'nature well disposed, well regulated, good and 'perfect, all that is the image of Osiris. Typhon 'is neither aridity, nor the fire, nor the sea; but

[f] *Pag.* 361. [g] *Pag.* 376.

'what-

'whatever is hurtful, inconſtant and irregular.' We muſt obſerve that in this Egyptian allegory, Oſiris does not ſignify, as in other places, the firſt principle of Deity, the Agathos of Plato, but the ſon of Ammon, the Apollo of the Greeks, Jupiter the Conductor, a God inferior to the ſupreme Deity. It was an ancient opinion among the Pagans and Hebrews, that the Divinity had united himſelf to the firſt and moſt perfect production of his power.

Plutarch goes farther in another treatiſe, and explains to us the origin of evil: His reaſoning on this occaſion is equally ſolid and ſubtile, and is as follows: 'h The Maker of the world being perfectly good, formed all things at firſt, as far as was poſſible, like himſelf. The world at its birth receiv'd from him who made it all ſorts of good things: Whatever it has at preſent of unhappy and wicked, is an indiſpoſition foreign to its nature. God cannot be the cauſe of evil, becauſe he is ſovereignly good; matter cannot be the cauſe of evil, becauſe it has no active force: But evil comes from a third principle, neither ſo perfect as God, nor ſo imperfect as matter. This third being is intelligent nature, which hath within itſelf a ſource, a principle, and a cauſe of motion.

I have already ſhewn that the ſchools of Pythagoras and Plato aſſerted liberty of will. The former expreſſes it by that faculty of the ſoul, whereby it can either raiſe or debaſe itſelf; the other, by the wings of the ſoul, that is, the love of virtue and the love of pleaſure, which may move different ways. Plutarch follows the ſame principles, and makes liberty conſiſt in the activity of the ſoul, by which it is the ſource of its own determinations. This opinion therefore ought not to be looked upon as modern; it is at once both natural and phi-

h *Plut. de Anim. form. p.* 1015.

loſophical. The ſoul can always ſeparate and reunite, recall and compare her ideas, and on this activity depends her liberty. We can always think upon other goods than thoſe we are actually thinking of. It muſt be owned that the paſſions, by ſtrong ſenſations they excite in us, ſometimes take up all the capacity of the ſoul, and hinder it from reflecting; they darken its diſcerning faculty, and hurry it on to an aſſent; they transform objects, and place them in a wrong light: But ſtrong as they are, they are never invincible; 'tis difficult indeed, but not impoſſible, to ſurmount them; 'tis always in our power gradually to diminiſh their force, and prevent their exceſs. This is the warfare of man on earth, and this is the triumph of virtue. The heathens feeling this tyranny of the paſſions, were convinced by the light of nature alone of the neceſſity of a celeſtial power to ſubdue them: They always repreſent virtue to us as a divine energy deſcending from heaven: They are continually bringing into their poems guardian Deities, who inſpire, enlighten and ſtrengthen us; to ſhew that heroick virtues can only proceed from the Gods. Theſe were the principles upon which the wiſe ancients went, in their arguments againſt thoſe notions of fatality, which are alike deſtructive of religion, morality and ſociety.

To return to the Egyptians. Their doctrine, according to Plutarch, ſuppoſes, 1. That the world was created without any phyſical or moral evil, by a Being infinitely good. 2. That ſeveral genii abuſing their liberty, fell into crimes, and thereby into miſery. 3. That theſe genii muſt ſuffer expiatory puniſhments till they are purified and reſtored to their firſt ſtate. 4. That the God Orus, the ſon of Iſis and Oſiris, and who fights with the evil principle, is a ſubordinate Deity, like Jupiter the Conductor the ſon of Saturn.

Let us conſult next the Mythology of the Orientals.

tals. The nearer we approach the first origin of nations, the more pure shall we find their theology. 'Zoroaster, says Plutarch, taught that there are 'two Gods contrary to each other in their operations; the one the author of all the good, the other 'of all the evil in nature. The good Principle he 'calls Oromazes, the other the dæmon Arimanius[k]. 'He says that the one resembles light and truth, the 'other darkness and ignorance. There is likewise a 'middle God between these two, named Mythras[l], 'whom the Persians call the intercessor or mediator. 'The Magi add, that Oromazes is born of the purest 'light, and Arimanius of darkness; that they continually make war upon one another, and that Oromazes made six genii, goodness, truth, justice, wisdom, plenty and joy; and Arimanius made six 'others to oppose them, malice, falshood, injustice, 'folly, want and sadness. Oromazes having withdrawn himself to as great a distance from the sphere 'of Arimanius, as the sun is from the earth, beautified the heavens with stars and constellations. He 'created afterwards four and twenty other genii, 'and put them into an egg (by which the ancients 'mean the earth;) but Arimanius and his genii 'brake through this shining egg, and immediately 'evil was blended and confounded with good. But 'there will come a time appointed by fate, when 'Arimanius will be entirely destroyed and extirpated; the earth will change its form, and become 'plain and even; and happy men will have only 'one and the same life, language and government.' Theopompus writes also, 'that according to the 'doctrine of the Magi, these Gods must make war 'for nine thousand years, the one destroying the 'other's work, till at last[m] hell shall be no more:

[l] *De Isid. & Osirid. pag.* 370. [k] *Ibid.* [l] Διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν Μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσιν. [m] Ἅιδης.

'Then men shall be happy, and their bodies become 'transparent. The God who made all things keeps 'himself conceal'd till that time; an interval not 'too long for a God, but rather like a moment of 'sleep.

We have lost the ancient books of the first Persians; so that in order to judge of their Mythology, we must have recourse to the oriental philosophers of our own time, and see if there be still left among the disciples of Zoroaster any traces of the ancient doctrine of their master. The famous Dr. Hyde, a divine of the Church of England, who had travelled into the East, and perfectly understood the language of the country, has translated the following passages out of Sharistani, an Arabian philosopher of the fifteenth century. '[n] The first Magi did not look up- 'on the two Principles as coeternal, but believed 'that light was eternal, and that darkness was pro- 'duced in time; and the origin of this evil principle 'they account for in this manner: Light can pro- 'duce nothing but light, and can never be the ori- 'gin of evil; how then was evil produced? Light, 'say they, produced several beings, all of them spi- 'ritual, luminous and powerful; but their chief, 'whose name was Ahriman or Arimanius, had an 'evil thought contrary to the light: He doubted, 'and by that doubting he became dark. From hence 'proceeded all evils; dissention, malice, and every 'thing else of a contrary nature to the light. These 'two principles made war upon one another, till at 'last peace was concluded, upon condition that the 'lower world should be in subjection to Arimanius 'for seven thousand Years; after this space of time 'he is to surrender back the world to the light.' Here we see the four notions that I speak of in the foregoing work: 1. A state before good and evil

[n] *Hyde Rel. ant. Pers. cap. 9. p. 163. & cap. 22. p. 294.*

were blended and confounded together, 2. A ſtate after they were ſo blended and confounded. 3. A ſtate when evil ſhall be entirely deſtroyed. 4. A middle God between the good and the evil Principle.

As the doctrine of the Perſian Magi is a ſequel of the doctrine of the Indian Brachmans, we muſt conſult the one to put the other in a clear light. We have but few traces left of the ancient theology of the Gymnoſophiſts, yet thoſe which Strabo has preſerved, ſuppoſe the two ſtates of the world, that of nature in its purity, and that of nature corrupted. When this hiſtorian has deſcribed the life and manners of the Brachmans, he adds, 'o Thoſe philoſo-'phers look upon the ſtate of men in this life to be 'like that of children in their mother's womb; death, 'according to their notion, being a birth to a true 'and a happy life. They believe, that whatever 'happens to mortals here does not deſerve the name 'either of good or evil. They have many notions 'in common with the Greeks; and like them be-'lieve that the world had a beginning, and will 'have an end; and that God who made it, and go-'verns it, is every where preſent to his work.' The ſame author goes on in this manner; 'Oneſecritus 'being ſent by Alexander the Great to inform him-'ſelf of the life, manners and doctrine of thoſe phi-'loſophers, found a Brachman named Calanus, who 'taught him the following principles. Formerly, 'plenty reigned over all nature; milk, wine, honey 'and oil flowed from fountains; but men having 'made an ill uſe of this felicity, Jupiter deprived 'them of it, and condemned them to labour for the 'ſuſtenance of their lives.

In order to form a better judgment of the doctrine of the ancient Gymnoſophiſts, I have conſulted what has been tranſlated of the Vedam, which is the ſa-

o *Lib. 15. p. 713, 714. Ed. Lut. Par. 1620.*

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cred book of the modern Bramins: Tho' its antiquity be not perhaps so great as it is affirmed to be, yet there is no denying but it contains the ancient traditions of those people, and of their philosophers. 'Tis plain by this book, 'p That the Bramins acknowledge one sole and supreme God, whom they call Vistnou; that his first and most ancient production was a secondary God, named Brama, whom the supreme God formed out of a flower that floated upon the surface of the great deep before the formation of the world; and that Vistnou afterwards, on account of Brama's virtue, gratitude and fidelity, gave him power to form the universe.' They believe moreover, 'q That souls are eternal emanations from the divine Essence, or at least that they were produced long before the formation of the world; that they were originally in a state of purity, but having sinned, were thrown down into the bodies of men or of beasts, according to their respective demerits; so that the body, where the soul resides, is a sort of dungeon or prison.' Lastly, they hold, that 'after a certain number of transmigrations, all souls shall be re-united to their origin, re-admitted into the company of the Gods, and deified r'.

I should hardly have thought these traditions authentick, or have brought myself to trust to the translators of the Vedam, if this doctrine had not been perfectly agreeable to that of Pythagoras, which I gave an account of a little before: This Philosopher taught the Greeks nothing but what he had learned from the Gymnosophists.

The discovery of these uniform and agreeing sentiments in Greece, Egypt, Persia, and the Indies, made me desirous to advance further into the East,

p *See Abrah. Roger, of the religion of the Bram. Book II. Part 1. chap. 1. & Kircher Sina Illust.* q *Ibid. Roger, Part 2. ch. 7.* r *Abr. Kircher, Sina Illust.*

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and to carry my researches as far as China. I applied myself accordingly to such as understood the language of that country, had spent several years in it, and were well versed in the original books of that nation. And in this point particularly I have made great use of the informations I have received from a gentleman of a superior genius, who does not care to be mentioned till he has published a large work upon these matters, which will be of service to religion, and do honour to human understanding. In the mean time he has allowed me to publish the following passages, which he translated himself out of some ancient Chinese books that have been brought into Europe, and which may be seen both at Paris and at Rome; so that all who understand the language may judge of the faithfulness of the translation. The ancient commentaries on the book Yking, i. e. the book of Changes, continually speak of a double heaven, a primitive and a posterior. The first heaven is there described in the following manner: 'All things were then in a happy state, every 'thing was beautiful, every thing was good, all be-'ings were perfect in their kind. In this happy age 'heaven and earth employ'd their virtues jointly to 'embellish nature. There was no jarring in the 'elements, no inclemency in the air, all things 'grew without labour; an universal fertility reign'd 'every where. The active and passive virtues con-'spired together, without any effort or opposition, 'to produce and perfect the universe.' In the books which the Chinese call King or Sacred, we read the following passage; 'Whilst the first state of 'heaven lasted, a pure pleasure and a perfect tran-'quillity reigned over all nature. There were nei-'ther labour, nor pains, nor sorrow, nor crimes. 'Nothing made opposition to the will of man.' The philosophers who stuck to these ancient traditions, and particularly Tchouangse, say, 'That in the state

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'of the first heaven man was united inwardly to the 'supreme Reason, and that outwardly he practised 'all the works of justice. The heart rejoiced in 'truth, and there was no mixture of falshood; then 'the four seasons of the year succeeded each other 'regularly without confusion: There were no im-'petuous winds, nor excessive rains; the sun and 'the moon, without ever being clouded, furnished 'a light purer and brighter than at present. The 'five planets kept on their course without any ine-'quality. There was nothing which did harm to 'man, or which suffered any hurt from him. An 'universal amity and harmony reigned over all 'nature.'

On the other hand the Philosopher Hoainantse speaking of the latter heaven, says, 'The pillars of 'heaven were broken; the earth was shaken to its 'very foundations; the heavens sunk lower towards 'the North; the sun, the moon and the stars changed 'their motions; the earth fell to pieces; the waters 'enclosed within its bosom burst forth with vio-'lence, and overflowed it. Man rebelling against 'heaven, the system of the universe was quite dis-'ordered; the sun was eclipsed, the planets altered 'their course, and the universal harmony was dis-'turbed.' The Philosophers Wentse and Lietse, who lived long before Hoainantse, express themselves almost in the same terms. 'The universal fertility of 'nature, say these ancient authors, degenerated into 'an ugly barrenness, the plants faded, the trees wi-'thered away, disconsolate nature refused to distri-'bute her usual bounty. All creatures declared war 'against one another; miseries and crimes over-'flowed the face of the earth.' 'All these evils 'arose, says the book Liki, from man's despising the 'supreme Monarch of the universe: He would 'needs dispute about truth and falshood, and these 'disputes banished the eternal Reason. He then

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'fixed his looks on terreſtrial objects, and loved 'them to exceſs; hence aroſe the paſſions; he be-'came gradually transformed into the objects he 'loved, and the celeſtial reaſon entirely abandoned 'him. Such was the original ſource of all crimes, 'which drew after them all manner of miſeries ſent 'by heaven for the puniſhment thereof.'

The ſame books ſpeak of a time when every thing is to be reſtored to its firſt ſplendor, by the coming of a hero called Kiun-Tſe, which ſignifies Shepherd and Prince, to whom they give likewiſe the names of, the moſt Holy, the univerſal Teacher, and the ſupreme Truth. He anſwers exactly to the Mythras of the Perſians, the Orus, or ſecond Oſiris of the Egyptians, the Apollo or Mercury of the Greeks, and the Brama of the Indians.

The Chineſe books ſpeak likewiſe of the ſufferings and conflicts of Kiun-Tſe, juſt as the Perſians do of the combats of Mythras, the Egyptians of the murder of Oſiris. the Tyrians of the death of Adonis, and the Greeks of the labours and painful exploits of a ſon of Jupiter who came down upon earth to exterminate monſters. It looks as if the ſource of all theſe allegories was an ancient tradition common to all nations, that the middle God was not to expiate and put an end to crimes but by his own great ſufferings. In ſpeaking of the death of Adonis in the foregoing work, I have made advantage of this tradition to pave the way for what Daniel ſays afterwards to Cyrus concerning the ſuffering Meſſiah. I ſhall here give the reader an account of what I find in the religion of the Tyrians, and in the doctrine of the ancients, to authorize the new allegory which is added in the preſent edition. 1. The Tyrians acknowledged one ſupreme God. named Bel, who is the ſame with the Jehovah of the Hebrews [f]. 2. They

[f] *Seldenus de Diis Syris Synt.* 2. *cap.* i. *de Belo.*

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held likewiſe a ſubordinate God, whom they called Thammuz, Adon, Adonis, which ſignifies the Lord [f]. 3. Adonis, Oſiris, Apollo and Hercules are the ſame [t]. 4. The death of Adonis killed by a boar, is the ſame with the murder of Oſiris ſlain by Typhon, or the evil principle [u]. 5. Solemn days were inſtituted by the Phenicians to bewail the death of Adonis, and to ſing praiſes to him as riſen from the dead [x]. 6. Some ancient and venerable writers among the Chriſtians believed that the fable of Adonis was a corruption of an old tradition concerning the ſuffering Meſſiah, and apply all the Tyrian ceremonies to our myſteries [y]. 7. Adonis loved Venus, eſpouſed her, and ſhe became the mother of the Gods [z]. 8. Urania, Aſtarte, Venus and Proſerpine are the ſame Goddeſs [a]. 9. Some think that Aſtarte is the morning ſtar, Lucifer, or a fallen ſtar [b]. 10. According to the doctrine of the ancients, as well Pagan as Hebrew, ſpirits fell not at once, but by degrees, that is to ſay, from the fixed ſtars into the region of the planets, from the planets to the earth, and from the earth to the infernal regions [c]: For which reaſon I have repreſented theſe three different falls of ſpirits by the three names of Aſtarte, Venus and Proſerpine. Theſe are the foundations on which I have built the allegory of Adonis and Urania, which Amenophis rehearſes to Cyrus in the ſeventh book. The only liberty I have taken is to make Urania repreſent, not the divine Wiſdom, but fallen

[f] *Heſych. on the word* Ἀδωνις. [t] *See above, p.* 16.
[u] *Seld. cap.* ii. *de Thammuz.* [x] *St. Jer. Comm.* 3. *upon Ezek. St. Cyril. book* 2. *Comm. upon Iſai. Procop. upon the* 18th *ch. of Iſai. Lucian. de Deâ Syr. p.* 1058. *Macrob. Saturn.* 1. *cap.* 21. [y] *Jul. Firmic. de Myſt. p.* 151.
[z] *Seld. de Diis Syris. Synt.* 2. *c.* 2. *de Aſtarte & cap.* 4. *de Ven. Syriac.* [a] *Ibid.* [b] *Ibid.* 224. *Ed. Lugd. Bat. & Suidas* ἀεροπλανὴς ἀστὴρ. [c] *Plutarc. de Iſid. & Oſirid. & Rittang. Cab. denud. de revol. anim. part* 1. *cap.* i. *ſee ſup. p.* 71.

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intelligences; as Pſyche in Apuleius does not repreſent the ſoul of the world, but ſouls unfaithful to love: Theſe kinds of metonymy are frequent in the allegorical and mythological writers.

We ſee then that the doctrines of the primitive perfection of nature, its fall and its reſtoration by a divine Hero, are equally manifeſt in the Mythologies of the Greeks, Egyptians, Perſians, Indians and Chineſe.

Let us now look into the Hebrew Mythology. By this I mean Rabbiniſm, or the philoſophy of the Jewiſh doctors, and particularly of the Eſſenes. Theſe philoſophers aſſerted, according to the teſtimony of Joſephus [d], 'that the literal ſenſe of the 'ſacred text was only an image of hidden truths. 'They changed, ſays Philo [e], the words and pre-'cepts of wiſdom into allegories, after the cuſtom 'of their anceſtors, who had left them ſeveral books 'for their inſtruction in this ſcience.' 'Twas the univerſal taſte of the Orientals to make uſe of corporeal images to repreſent the properties and operations of ſpirits.

This ſymbolical ſtile ſeems in a great meaſure authorized by the ſacred writers. The Prophet Daniel repreſents God to us under the image of the ANCIENT OF DAYS. The Hebrew Mythologiſts and Cabaliſts, who were a ſucceſſion of the ſchool of the Eſſenes, took occaſion from thence to expreſs the divine attributes by the members of the body of the ANCIENT OF DAYS, We ſee this allegory carried to an extravagance in the books of the Rabbins. They ſpeak there of the dew that diſtilled from the brain of the ANCIENT OF DAYS, from his skull, his hair, his forehead, his eyes, and eſpecially from his wonderful beard. Theſe compariſons are undoubtedly ab-

[d] *Joſeph. de Bello Jud. lib.* 2. *cap.* 12.
[e] *Phil. de legis alleg. lib.* 2. *pag.* 53.

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ſurd, and unbecoming the Majeſty of God: But the cabaliſtical philoſophers pretend to authoriſe them by ſome metaphyſical notions.

The creation, according to them, is a picture of the divine perfections: All created beings are conſequently images more or leſs perfect of the ſupreme Being, in proportion as they have more or leſs conformity with their original. Hence it follows that all creatures are in ſome reſpect like one another, and that man or the microcoſm, has a reſemblance of the great world or macrocoſm; the material world, of the intelligible world; and the intelligible world, of the Archetype, which is God. Such are the principles upon which the allegorical expreſſions of the Cabaliſts are founded. If we ſtrip their Mythology of this myſterious language, we ſhall find in it ſublime notions very like thoſe we have before admired in the heathen philoſophers. I ſhall mention four, which are clearly enough expreſs'd in the works of the Rabbins Irira, Moſchech and Jitzack, which Rittangelius has tranſlated in his Cabala denudata.

1. 'All ſpiritual ſubſtances, angels, human ſouls, 'and even the ſoul of the Meſſiah [a], were created 'from the beginning of the world: And conſe- 'quently our firſt parent, of whom Moſes ſpeaks, 'repreſents not an invidual perſon, but all mankind 'governed by one ſole Head. In that primitive 'ſtate every thing was glorious and perfect; there 'was nothing in the univerſe that ſuffered, becauſe 'there was no ſuch thing as crime. Nature was a 'real and a ſpotleſs image of the divine perfecti- 'ons.' This anſwers to the reign of Ammon, Oromazes and Saturn. 2. '[b] The ſoul of the Meſ- 'ſiah, by his perſeverance in the divine love, came

[a] *Viſion. Ezekiel. Mercav. Exp. apud Rittang. pag.* 225. *Tom. III.* [b] *Pag.* 226.

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'to a ſtrict union with the pure Godhead [c], and 'was deſervedly advanced to be the King, the Head, 'and the Guide of all ſpirits.' This notion has ſome reſemblance of thoſe which the Perſians had of Mythras, the Egyptians of Oſiris and Orus, and the Greeks of Jupiter the Guide, who led ſouls into the ſuper-celeſtial abode. 3. [d] "The virtue, 'perfection and beatitude of ſpirits or Zephirots [e], 'conſiſted in continually receiving and rendring 'back the rays which flowed from the infinite cen-'tre, that ſo there might be an eternal circulation 'of light and happineſs in all ſpirits. Two ſorts of 'Zephirots failed in the obſervance of this eternal 'law. The Cherubim, who were of a ſuperior 'order, did not render back this light, but kept it 'within themſelves, ſwelled, and became like veſ-'ſels that are too full; at laſt they burſt in pieces, 'and their ſphere was changed into a gloomy chaos. 'The Iſchim, who were of an inferior order, ſhut 'their eyes againſt this light, turning themſelves 'towards ſenſible objects [f]; they forgat the ſupreme 'beatitude of their nature, and took up with the 'enjoyment of created pleaſures. They fell there-'by into mortal bodies. 4. [g] Souls paſs through 'ſeveral revolutions before they return to their 'primitive ſtate; but after the coming of the 'Meſſiah, all ſpirits will be reſtored to order, and 'to the happineſs which they enjoyed before the 'ſin of our firſt parent.' I ſhall now leave the reader to judge whether theſe four notions have not a great reſemblance of thoſe which we have found

[c] *The Helleniſtic Hebrews call this union of the Meſſiah with the Divinity, Hyper-azilutical, which ſignifies ſuper-ſubſtantial.*

[d] *Ibid. de revol. anim. part.* 1. *cap.* 1. *pag.* 244.

[e] *A general word which ſignifies ſpirits of all kinds.*

[f] *Phil. Cabal. diſſert.* 8. *cap.* 13. *pag.* 173. *Tom. III. Rittang.*

[g] *De revol. anim. pag.* 307.

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in China, Perſia, Egypt and Greece, and whether I had not ſufficient authority to give the four mythological pictures which are in the foregoing work.

In all theſe ſyſtems we ſee that the ancient philoſophers, in order to refute the objections of the impious concerning the origin and duration of evil, adopted the doctrine of the præ-exiſtence of ſouls, and their final reſtoration. Several Fathers of the Church have maintained the firſt opinion, as the only philoſophical way of explaining original ſin; and Origen made uſe of the latter, to oppoſe the libertines of his time. It is far from my intention to defend theſe two opinions; all the uſe I would make of them is to ſhew, that reaſon alone furniſhes arguments ſufficient to confound ſuch philoſophers as refuſe to believe unleſs they can comprehend.

'Tis for this reaſon that I make Daniel ſpeak a different language from Eleazer. The Prophet adviſes Cyrus to lay aſide all refin'd ſpeculations, and to leave to God the care of juſtifying the incomprehenſible ſteps of his Providence; he plunges him again in an obſcurity more wholſome and more ſuitable to human weakneſs, than all the conjectures of philoſophers; he reduces what we are to believe on this ſubject, to theſe four principal truths.

1. God being infinitely good, cannot produce wicked and miſerable beings; and therefore the moral and phyſical evil which we ſee in the univerſe, muſt come from the abuſe that men make of their liberty. 2. Human nature is fallen from the firſt purity in which it was created; and this mortal life is a ſtate of trial, in which ſouls are cured of their corruption, and merit a happy immortality by their virtue. 3. God united himſelf to human nature in order to expiate moral evil by his ſacrifice: The Meſſiah will come at laſt in his glory to deſtroy

ſtroy phyſical evil, and renew the face of the earth. 4. Theſe truths have been tranſmitted to us from age to age, from the time of the deluge till now, by an univerſal tradition; other nations have obſcured and altered this tradition by their fables; it has been preſerved in its purity no where but in the Holy Scriptures, the authority of which cannot be diſputed with any ſhadow of reaſon.

'Tis a common notion that all the footſteps of natural and reveal'd religion which we ſee in the heathen poets and philoſophers, are originally owing to their having read the books of Moſes; but it is impoſſible to anſwer the objections which are made againſt this opinion. The Jews and their books were too long concealed in a corner of the earth, to be reaſonably thought the primitive light of the Gentiles: We muſt go further back, even to the deluge. It is ſurpriſing that thoſe who are convinced of the authority of the ſacred books, have not made advantage of this ſyſtem to prove the truth of the Moſaick hiſtory concerning the origin of the world, the univerſal deluge, and the re-peopling of the earth by Noah. 'Tis hard to account for that uniformity of ſentiments which we find in the religions of all nations, otherwiſe than by the doctrine which I have put in the mouth of Daniel.

As the four great principles, which I have mentioned, are the foundation of our religion, my deſign was to do homage to it, by endeavouring to defend them againſt the vain cavils of audacious criticks and the ſuperſtitious prejudices of weak minds. One of the chief ſources of modern incredulity is the falſe notion which impious men have entertained of Chriſtianity. Nor indeed can we think it ſtrange if while the Chriſtian myſteries are repreſented in a wrong light, the principles of religion confounded with the abuſes of thoſe principles, and ſcholaſtick expoſitions with doctrines of faith, the miracles ſhould

ſhould paſs for impoſture, and the facts for fables. If we would engage thoſe, who in ſimplicity of heart ſeek after truth, to liſten to the proofs of revealed religion, we muſt begin by ſhewing them that its doctrines are worthy of God; and this has been my aim throughout the foregoing work. Whether I have ſucceeded or not, my intention was upright; and I ſhall not repine at the imperfection of this attempt, if I may have given occaſion to any perſon of more learning and depth to recommend that philoſophy, which teaches never to employ the imagination but as the ſervant of reaſon, to direct all improvements of the underſtanding to the purification of the heart, and avoiding all oſtentatious parade of the ſciences, to make uſe of them only to diſcover the beauties of eternal truth to thoſe who are capable of being enamour'd with them.

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LETTER

FROM

M. FRERET

(Member of the ACADEMY of INSCRIPTIONS at PARIS)

TO THE

AUTHOR,

Concerning the Chronology of his Work.

SIR,

THERE have perhaps been more different ſyſtems formed, to ſettle the hiſtory of Cyrus, and the chronology of the kings of Babylon, than for any other part of ancient ſtory. But theſe hypotheſes are all ſo defective, and ſo ill connected with cotemporary events, that we are ſtopped almoſt at every ſtep, by the contradictions and inconſiſtencies we meet with in them. This every man's experience ſhews him to be true, who reads the writings of Scaliger, Petau, Uſher, Marſham, the biſhop of Meaux and Prideaux.

But in your work you have wiſely avoided theſe difficulties, and have hit upon the beſt method of reconciling the contradictory accounts which Herodotus, Cteſias, Xenophon, and other ancient wri-

ters, give us of Cyrus. You have preſerved this Prince's war with his grandfather Aſtyages; a war which the ancients allow to be certain, and which Xenophon himſelf acknowledges in his retreat of the ten thouſand; he ſuppreſs'd this fact in his Cyropædia, only to avoid throwing a blemiſh on Cyrus's character, by a war which he thought contrary to natural duty: Prideaux has likewiſe thought fit to ſuppreſs it. Marſham has invented a mere romance, and ſuppoſes, that there were two different kingdoms of the Medes, which were at the ſame time govern'd by two Aſtyages's, one the grandfather, and the other the enemy, of Cyrus. The method you have taken is more ſimple, and more agreeable to ancient ſtory; you have paved the way for this war, and conducted it in ſuch a manner, that it does in no wiſe ſtain the character of your hero.

The omiſſion of ſo conſiderable an event led Xenophon into two anachroniſms, in order to find employment for Cyrus in his younger years: This author antedates the taking of Sardis 25 years, and that of Babylon, 28. As this hiſtorian had nothing in view but military virtues and the qualities of a true patriot, whereby to form his hero, his ſcheme did not furniſh him with the ſame materials to fill up Cyrus's youth, as yours does. He had no thoughts of inſtilling into his mind ſuch principles as would moſt effectually ſecure him from the dangers which beſet the virtue of Princes, or of guarding him beforehand againſt the corruption of falſe politicks and falſe philoſophy, which are, in their conſequences, equally fatal to ſociety. Xenophon having been educated in Greece, was acquainted only with the kingdoms of Sparta and Macedon, whoſe Kings were, properly ſpeaking, nothing more than the chief perſons in the ſtate; and the magiſtrates were rather their collegues than their miniſters. He had no notion of the abuſes of deſpotic power,

power, and therefore could have no thoughts of preventing them. Whereas your design being to form a King, rather than a conqueror, a Prince better qualify'd to make his people happy under his government, than to force them to submit to his laws; you are thereby enabled to give Cyrus full employment in his youth by making him travel, and that very consistently with true chronology.

Cyrus died the 218th year of Nabonassar, and 530 years before the Christian Æra, which I shall not lose time in proving, because acknowledg'd by all chronologers. This Prince was then 70 years of age, according to Dinon, the author of a celebrated history of Persia [a]. He was therefore born in the 148th year of Nabonassar, 600, or 599 years before Christ. He had reigned, according to the astronomical canon, nine years at Babylon. This city was therefore taken in the 61st year of his age, the 209th of Nabonassar, and the 539th before Christ.

Sardis was taken, according to Soscrates in Diogenes Laertius [b], and according to Solinus [c], in the fourth year of the 58th Olympiad; but according to Eusebius, in the first year of that Olympiad; and consequently, either in the 545th or 548th year before Christ, and the 52d or 55th year of Cyrus's life. He reigned 30 years over the Medes and Persians, according to Herodotus and Ctesias, and he was 40 years old, according to Dinon, when he mounted the throne; which fixes the beginning of his reign to the 188th year of Nabonassar, the first year of the 55th Olympiad, and the 560th year before Christ. [d] Eusebius tells us, that all chronologists agreed in placing the beginning of Cyrus's reign over the Medes and Persians in this year of the 55th Olympiad. But historians have neither told us how

[a] *Cic. de Divin. lib.* 2. [b] *Diog. Laer. lib.* 1. *Periand.*
[c] *Chap. viii.* [d] *Præpar. Evang, lib.* x.

many years Cyrus's war with the Medes lasted, nor any particulars of what happen'd in the first forty years of his life: you are therefore at full liberty to fill up this space with whatever you judge most proper to your design; and your chronology is not only agreeable to that of the Greeks and Persians, but likewise to that of the Babylonians.

Xenophon indeed has chang'd all this chronology: According to him Cyrus went to the court of Media at 12 years, stay'd there 4 years, returned in his 16th year; entered into the class of the Ἔφηβοι or Youngmen in his 17th, and continued in it 10 years. To which he adds, that Astyages died in this Interval, but this is not true; for that Prince reigned till he was conquer'd by Cyrus in the year 560, and did not die till some years after: You have therefore done well in not following Xenophon. According to him, Cyrus enter'd Media at the head of 30000 men when he was 28 years of age; subdued the Armenians at 29; marched against the Lydians, and took Sardis at 30; and made himself master of Babylon at 33, about the year 567. This is the 179th year of Nabonassar, and the 36th of Nabuchodonosor, who reigned 7 years after it; these 7 years added to the 21 years of the four Kings who reigned in Babylon after him, make the 28 years of the anachronism abovementioned. The rest of Xenophon's chronology is of no importance to your work. He does not determine the time of the death either of Mandana, or Cambyses, and you are therefore entirely at liberty to place these events as will best suit with your plan.

The city of Tyre was not taken till the 19th year of Nabuchodonosor, after a thirteen years siege, which began the seventh of that Prince's reign, according to the Phœnician annals which Josephus had read. In the year Jerusalem was taken, which was the 18th year of Nabuchodonosor, the Prophet Ezekiel threatens Tyre with approaching ruin; it

therefore was not taken at that time; Cyrus was then 15 years of age: Now, as his travels are all placed between the 28th and 32d year of his age, and as he does not go to Tyre till after his travels in Greece, you are guilty of no anachroniſm in this particular; moreover, what you relate of the hiſtory of this city ſufficiently fills up the 15 or 16 years from the time of its being conquered by the Babylonians.

We have no where any expreſs paſſage whereby to fix the time of Nabuchodonoſor's madneſs; that he was mad is certain from Daniel, and it is very probable it happened towards the end of his life; my reaſons for it are theſe. Jehoiachin was carried into captivity in the 8th year of Nabuchodonoſor's reign over Judea, and the 4th of his reign in Babylon; that is, the 148th year of Nabonaſſar, 600 years before Chriſt, and the year Cyrus was born. We are told in Jeremiah [e], and in the ſecond book of Kings [f], that in the 37th year of Jehoiachin's captivity, Evilmerodach aſcended the throne of Babylon, took Jehoiachin out of priſon, admitted him to his own table, and heaped many honours upon him; this was the 184th year of Nabonaſſar, the 564th before Chriſt, and the 37th of Cyrus's age; at which time Nabuchodonoſor was yet alive, ſince he did not die till the 186th of Nabonaſſar, 562 years before Chriſt, and the 39th of Cyrus; Evilmerodach therefore did not only mount the throne in his father's life time, but he governed without conſulting him, and with ſo little dependence upon him, as not to fear provoking him, by taking quite different meaſures from his, and heaping honours on a Prince, whom his father had all along kept in fetters. Beroſus makes the Prince, whom he calls Evilmerodach, to have reign'd 10 years, the aſtronomical canon allows him but two, and calls him Ilovarodam; the Scripture places

[e] *Chap. lii. ver.* 31. [f] *Chap. xxv. ver.* 27.

him upon the throne three years before the death of his father.

All these difficulties will vanish if we suppose that Nabuchodonosor's madness began eight years before his death, and that his son Evilmerodach was from that time looked upon as King, placed himself at the head of affairs, and governed the empire with his father's ministers; these eight years, joined with the two he reigned alone after his father's death, make up the ten years of Berosus; the holy Scriptures begin his reign later, doubtless from the time that he removed the ministers who made him uneasy, which did not happen till the third year before the death of Nabuchodonosor. This Prince's madness continued but seven years; after that time he recovered his senses, re-assumed the government, and published an edict in favour of the Jews, which is related in Daniel: His name had all along been made use of in the public acts, and for this reason the astronomical canon makes his son Ilovarodam to have reigned but two years; this canon was drawn up from the public acts. Nabuchodonosor's madness must have produced great revolutions in the court of Babylon, and we may form an idea of them from what passed in the court of France during that of Charles VI. when the management of affairs was one while lodged in the hands of the Queen, sometimes in those of his children, and at other times in those of the great Lords and Princes of the blood. Upon this supposition, which is both easy and necessary, Nabuchodonosor's madness will have happened in the 179th year of Nabonassar, the 569th before Christ, and the 32d of Cyrus's age; this Prince must have been informed of that event, for it was of great importance to him to know it; it is not to be doubted but it had its influence in the war of the Medes and Persians. The Kings of Babylon were allied to those of the Medes; Nabuchodonosor had married

married a daughter of Aſtyages; the Babylonians would have taken ſome part in this war, had it not been for the weakneſs of their government, occaſioned by the King's madneſs, and for the diviſions which prevailed at court among the different parties that contended for the direction of affairs. Nay, it is probable that Queen Amytis endeavoured to reconcile the Medes and Perſians; becauſe, independently of the tyes of blood, it was againſt her intereſt to have either of thoſe nations ſubdue the other. The fight of ſo famous a conqueror reduced to ſo deplorable a condition, muſt have been a very proper ſpectacle for the inſtruction of Cyrus, and you had great reaſon not to neglect it. He returned from his travels, according to your chronology, about the 32[d] year of his age, after Nabuchodonoſor's madneſs had already ſeized him: Cyrus ſpent near ſeven years in Perſia, governing under his father; during which time all the intrigues between Cyaxares and Soranes were carried on, Cambyſes made war with the Medes, and Aſtyages died; after which Cyrus went to Babylon to negociate affairs with Amytis a little before Nabuchodonoſor's madneſs left him; this time was judiciouſly choſen to make the ſight more affecting and inſtructive.

Your chronology, with regard to political affairs, and the revolutions which happened in Cyrus's time, is therefore perfectly agreeable to that of the Greeks, Babylonians and Hebrews; let us now enquire, whether the great men whom you make Cyrus to have ſeen in his travels were his cotemporaries; you may indeed be allowed a greater liberty in this caſe than in the former. You know how the ancients contradict one another with regard to the time when Zoroaſter lived; which doubtleſs proceeds from hence, that the name of Zoroaſter was given to all thoſe who, at different times, reformed the religion of the Magi. The laſt of theſe was the

moſt famous, and is the only one who is known by that name, or by the name of Zardouſcht in the Eaſt. Prideaux makes him cotemporary with Cambyſes and Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, but it is very probable he lived ſome time before them. The Orientals, as may be ſeen in Dr. Hyde's work, make him to have lived under Guſtaſpes or Hyſtaſyes, the father of Darab, who is the firſt Darius according to the Greeks. This Guſtaſpes was older than Cyrus, and may have been the ſame perſon whom you make his Governor. Whence it neceſſarily follows, that the reformation of the religion of the Magi muſt have been made during his reign, and that Zoroaſter lived at that time. The reformation made by Darius ſuppoſes that the Magi had aſſumed to themſelves very great authority, which he took away from them. He likewiſe corrupted the purity of Zoroaſter's religion, by a mixture of foreign idolatry. In his reign the worſhip of Anaitis was firſt brought into Perſia, contrary to the hypotheſis of Dr. Prideaux. Your ſcheme is more agreeable to the courſe of the hiſtory, and to thoſe facts which are common to the Greek, Perſian and Arabian writers.

Cyrus may have married Caſſandana at 18 years of age, and have lived with her nine or ten years; ſo that he may have travelled into Egypt about the 29th year of his age. Your chronology agrees exactly with the age of Amaſis. All Chronologiſts concur in fixing the end of his reign to the year before Cambyſes's expedition, that is about the 525th year before Chriſt, and the 63d Olympiad. Herodotus makes his reign to have laſted 44 years; and conſequently places the beginning of it in the 569th year before Chriſt, and the 52d Olympiad, and about the 30th year of Cyrus. Diodorus indeed, who makes Amaſis to have reigned 55 years, ſuppoſes that he aſcended the throne in the 579th or 580th year before Chriſt, and the 20th year of Cyrus's age; But theſe two opinions

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are eaſily reconciled. Herodotus begins Amaſis's reign at the end of the revolution which placed him on the throne, and Diodorus at the beginning of his revolt.

Apries muſt have lived but a little time after the taking of Jeruſalem, ſince the Prophet Jeremiah [a] foretels his death under the name of Pharaoh Hophra, as what was ſoon to happen. Jeruſalem was taken in the year 589 before Chriſt, and the 63[d] before Amaſis's death, which ſhews that the troubles in Egypt were already begun. According to your ſyſtem Amaſis governed all Egypt in tranquillity when Cyrus went thither, and Apries had already been dead ſeveral years [b]; which is agreeable both to prophane and ſacred Hiſtory, Cyrus being between 28 and 30 years of age when he travelled.

The Greek chronology indeed will not be ſo eaſily reconciled to yours, but the anachroniſm will not exceed 12 or 14 years. Chilo was, according to Hermippus, as quoted by Diogenes Laertius [c], advanced in age at the time of the 52[d] Olympiad. This Olympiad began in the 573[d] year before Chriſt, and ended in the 570th Olympiad, which was the 30th of Cyrus. This was before his Ephorate, which Pamphyla placesin the 56th Olympiad, but this paſſage is manifeſtly corrupted. The anonymous author of the chronology of the Olympiads fixes the time of the magiſtracy of Chilo to that of the Archonſhip of Euthydemes at Athens, that is, to the 81[ſt] year before Xerxes's paſſage into Aſia, according to the chronology [d] of the Arundelian marbles. This was the 561[ſt] year before Chriſt, and the 38th of Cyrus, which a-

[a] *Chap. xliv. the laſt verſe.*

[b] *In this new edition the Author has taken the liberty to vary a little from this chronology. Apries is yet living when Cyrus goes into Egypt.*

[c] *Diog. Laert. lib. 1.*

[d] *Marm. Oxon. Chronol. Attic. Epoch. 42.*

grees perfectly well with your chronology; for Cyrus might have seen Chilo eight years before, as he went to Sparta, and when he was thirty years of age.

Periander died, according to Soſicrates [e], at the end of the 48th Olympiad, the 585th year before Chriſt, and the 16th of Cyrus. The ancients tell us he had reigned 40 years, and began to flouriſh about the 38th Olympiad. You poſtpone his death 12 or 14 years; but as you do this only to make Cyrus a witneſs of his deſperate death, the anachroniſm is a beauty, and is otherwiſe of little importance.

Piſiſtratus's reign over the Athenians did not begin till 560 years before Chriſt, 71 before the battle of Marathon, according to Thucydides [f], and 100 before the tyranny of the 400 at Athens. Cyrus was then 40 years old, ſo that your anachroniſm here is only of 9 or 10 years. And with regard to Solon, you are guilty of no anachroniſm at all. His Archonſhip, and his reformation of the government of Athens, were in the year 597 before Chriſt, and the 3d year of the 46th Olympiad [g]. He ſpent a conſiderable time in travelling, and did not return to Athens till he was advanced in years, which would not ſuffer him to be concerned in public affairs any more. He died at the age of 80 years, in the ſecond year of Piſiſtratus's reign, according to Phanias of Ereſa, and in the 41ſt year of Cyrus; who might therefore have converſed with him nine or ten years before.

You ought likewiſe to give yourſelf as little concern about the bringing Pythagoras and Cyrus together. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus tells us [h], that the former went into Italy about the 50th Olympiad, that is, about the 577th year before Chriſt. He makes uſe

[e] *Diog. Laert. lib.* 1.
[f] *Lib.* 6. *p.* 449, 452. *& lib.* 8. *p.* 601. *Ariſt. Pol. lib.* 6. *p.* 12.
[g] *Diog. Laert. and Plut. life of Solon.* [h] *D. Hal. lib.* 12.

of the word κατὰ, (about) which ſhews that this date need not be ſtrictly taken. And indeed Diogenes Laertius ſhews us, that he flouriſhed about the 60th Olympiad, that is, about 40 years after; which if we underſtand of the time of his death, which was at the age of 80, he will then have been 50 years old when he went into Italy, and he will appear to have been born about the 520th year before Chriſt. If Pythagoras the Philoſopher be the ſame with him who offered to fight at the Olympic games among the children, and upon being rejected deſired to be received among the men, and gained the prize in the 48th Olympiad; he was 16 or 17 in the year 585 before Chriſt, and was ſcarce older than Cyrus. This is the opinion of Dr. Bentley, who is able to defend himſelf againſt all the objections which have been made to him. But without entring into this diſpute, it is ſufficient for your vindication, that Pythagoras was returned from his travels, and capable of conferring with Cyrus when this Prince went into Greece, in the year 565 before Chriſt; which cannot be denied in any of the different ſyſtems which the learned have form'd concerning the time of Pythagoras's life.

You have likewiſe ſufficient foundation for bringing him into a diſpute with Anaximander. This Philoſopher muſt have ſeen Pythagoras though he was older than he, being, according to Apollodorus in Diogenes Laertius, 64 years of age in the 2d year of the 48th Olympiad, that is, in the year 585 before Chriſt. And it is likewiſe a beauty in your work to ſee the young Pythagoras triumphing over the ſophiſtry of the Materialiſt. It is not to be doubted but the Mileſian Philoſopher was the firſt inventor of the doctrine of the Atomiſts; as Ariſtotle [i], Cicero [k], Plutarch [l] and Simplicius [m] teſtify. The τὸ Ἄπειρον

[i] *Phyſ. lib.* 1. *cap.* 4. [k] *De Nat. Deor. lib.* 1.
[l] *Placit. Phil. lib.* 1. *c.* 3. [m] *Comm. in Epict.*

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of Anaximander was an infinite matter: His doctrine is the ſame with that of Spinoza.

You ſee, Sir, that complaiſance had no part in my approbation of the chronology of your book; you were not obliged to adhere ſo ſcrupulouſly to truth, you might have contented yourſelf with probability; the nature of your work did not require more: Nevertheleſs this exactneſs will, I am perſuaded, give it new beauties in the opinion of thoſe who are verſed in ancient hiſtory. Exactneſs is not incompatible with a fine imagination; and it degenerates into drineſs only when a writer is of a cold and heavy genius.

I am, &c.

FRERET.

The END.

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